উনিশ শতকে

বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র

[১৮৪৭-১৯০৫]

অষ্টম খণ্ড

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অষ্টম খণ্ড

মুনতাসীর মামুন

ভারবি
১৩।১ বঙ্কিম চাটুজ্যে স্ট্রিট। কলকাতা-৭৩

প্রথম প্রকাশ
আশ্বিন ১৪০৫ / অক্টোবর ১৯৯৮

অঙ্কন : রঞ্জন মুখোপাধ্যায়

প্রকাশক : গোপীমোহন সিংহরায়। ভারবি। ১৩।১ বঙ্কিম চাটুজ্জে স্ট্রিট।
কলকাতা-৭৩। অক্ষরবিন্যাস : ভারবি। মুদ্রক : শ্যামলী ঘোষ।
কল্যাণী প্রিন্টার্স। ১৭ কানাই ধর লেন। কলকাতা-১২

উৎসর্গ

আমার ছাত্র-ছাত্রীদের

ভূমিকা

উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র কয়েকখণ্ডে প্রকাশের দায়িত্ব নিয়েছিলো বাংলা একাডেমী। বর্তমান খণ্ডটি অষ্টম খণ্ড। প্রথম খণ্ড প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো একযুগ আগে, ১৩৯১ সনে (১৯৮৫ সাল)। ঐ খণ্ডে সামগ্রিকভাবে উনিশ শতকে প্রকাশিত বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। বাকি এবং বর্তমান খণ্ডে সংকলিত হয়েছে ঐ সময়ে বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত যেসব সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র পাওয়া গেছে তা থেকে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রচনা ও সংবাদ। তাই প্রথম খণ্ডটিকে বাকি খণ্ডগুলির ভূমিকা হিসেবেও বিবেচনা করা যেতে পারে।

দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো ১৩৯৪ সনে (১৯৮৭)। এ খণ্ডটি বিভক্ত দু'টি পর্বে। প্রথম পর্বে সংকলন করা হয়েছে সংবাদপত্রসমূহ থেকে। তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত অধিকাংশ সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র আর এখন পাওয়া যায় না। সুতরাং যা-ই খুঁজে পেয়েছি তা থেকেই সংকলন করেছি। দ্বিতীয় খণ্ডে সাময়িকপত্র ছাড়া 'গ্রামবার্ত্তা প্রকাশিকা' ও 'বঙ্গবন্ধু' থেকে সংবাদ/রচনা সংকলিত হয়েছে, 'রিপোর্ট অন দি নেটিভ পেপার্স' থেকেও সংকলন করা হয়েছে।

তৃতীয় ও চতুর্থ খণ্ডে সংকলন করা হয়েছে মাত্র একটি সংবাদপত্র থেকে এবং তা হলো 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'। এ পত্রিকাটিকে গুরুত্ব সহকারে নেওয়ার কারণ আছে। উনিশ শতকে পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত অধিকাংশ সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র আজ লুপ্ত। বিদেশে বিভিন্ন গ্রন্থাগারে কয়েকটি পত্রিকার অল্প কিছু সংখ্যা আছে। 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'ই একমাত্র পত্রিকা যার অধিকাংশ সংখ্যা অলৌকিকভাবে রক্ষা পেয়েছে। এ ছাড়া 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এর মতো আর কোন পত্রিকা এতো দীর্ঘকাল ধরে প্রকাশিত হয়নি। প্রায় একশো বছর টিকেছিলো পত্রিকাটি। শেষের দিকে অবশ্য 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' প্রকাশিত হতো নিলামের ইস্তেহার হিসেবে। পত্রিকাটির পাতায় পাতায় ছড়িয়ে আছে বাংলাদেশের আর্থসামাজিক রাজনৈতিক বিভিন্ন বিষয়ের বিভিন্ন উপাদান। তৃতীয় ও চতুর্থ খণ্ডে মাত্র চল্লিশ বছরের 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' থেকে অল্প কিছু সংবাদ/রচনা সংকলন করেছি। তবে, পাঠকদের সুবিধার জন্য চতুর্থ খণ্ডে 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এ প্রকাশিত রচনার একটি সূচি সংযোজিত হয়েছে।

পঞ্চম খণ্ডে সাপ্তাহিক 'হিন্দুরঞ্জিকা' [১৮৮৭, ১৮৮৮ ও ১৮৯৯-১৯০০] থেকে সংকলন করা হয়েছে। 'হিন্দুরঞ্জিকা'র আর কোন বছরের ফাইল খুঁজে পাওয়া যায় নি।

'উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র'-এর পরিকল্পনা করা হয়েছিলো একটি কারণে। বর্তমান বাংলাদেশ বা তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গের সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে কিছু

গবেষণা হয়েছে কিন্তু তাতে কলকাতা বা পশ্চিমবঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদ–সাময়িকপত্রই গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে। প্রধানত সে অভাব পূরণের জন্যই এ গ্রন্থের পরিকল্পনা করা হয়েছিলো। গ্রন্থের সময়সীমা ১৮৪৭ থেকে ১৯০৫। ১৮৪৭ থেকে শুরু করার কারণ, ঐ সময়ই বাংলাদেশের প্রথম সংবাদপত্র 'রঙ্গপুর বার্ত্তাবহ' প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো। আর ১৯০৫ সালতো বঙ্গভঙ্গের কারণে বাংলার ইতিহাসে অধিকার করে আছে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ স্থান। যদিও এ গ্রন্থে ১৯০০ থেকে ১৯০৫ পর্যন্ত প্রকাশিত কয়েকটি সংবাদ–সাময়িকপত্র নিয়ে আলোচনা করেছি তবুও গ্রন্থের শিরোনামে উনিশ শতকই ব্যবহার করা হলো। বর্তমান গ্রন্থে, পূর্ববঙ্গ বা বাংলাদেশ বলতে বর্তমান বাংলাদেশের ভৌগোলিক সীমানা বোঝানো হয়েছে।

ষষ্ঠ এবং বর্তমান খণ্ডটিকে এ সিরিজে ব্যতিক্রম বলে মনে হতে পারে। বর্তমান খণ্ডে যে পত্রিকা থেকে সংকলন করা হয়েছে সেটি ইংরেজি সংবাদপত্র 'দি বেঙ্গল টাইমস'। ষষ্ঠ খণ্ডে সংকলিত 'দি ঢাকা নিউজ'–এর উত্তরসূরি। ব্যতিক্রম মনে হতে পারে এ কারণে যে, গ্রন্থের ভূমিকা, টীকা সমস্ত কিছুই বাংলায় কিন্তু সংকলন ইংরেজিতে। তবে, বলতে পারি, এটি আর এখন ব্যতিক্রম কিছু নয়, বিদেশে এ ধরনের গবেষণার ক্ষেত্রে দ্বি–ভাষিক সংকলনও প্রকাশিত হচ্ছে। কারণ, ধরে নেওয়া হয় যারা এটি ব্যবহার করবেন তাদের জন্য মাতৃভাষাসহ ইংরেজিভাষা দূরাতিগম্য বাধা হয়ে দাঁড়াবে না। তা'ছাড়া, বর্তমান সংকলনের জন্য যদি ভূমিকা থেকে শুরু করে সবকিছু ইংরেজিতে করা হতো তা'হলে এটিকে সিরিজ বহির্ভূত বলে মনে হতো এবং নষ্ট হতো ধারাবাহিকতা। তা'ছাড়া, ঐ ইংরেজি খণ্ডের জন্য প্রথম খণ্ডটিকেও অনুবাদ করতে হতো ; না হলে, অনেক বক্তব্যই অস্পষ্ট থেকে যেতো। সে কারণে, 'দি বেঙ্গল টাইমস'–এর ক্ষেত্রে আলাদা কোন পদ্ধতি ব্যবহার করা হয়নি এবং আশা করি এ কারণে পাঠক বা গবেষকদের কোন অসুবিধা হবে না।

বর্তমান খণ্ডে আলোচনার সুবিধার জন্য সংবাদ/নিবন্ধসমূহকে ভাগ করা হয়েছে কয়েকটি ভাগে--কৃষি ও কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণ, দেশীয়দের প্রতি দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি, সমাজ, অর্থনীতি, রাজনীতি, শিক্ষা, প্রশাসন, সভা--সমিতি, থিয়েটার, বঙ্গভঙ্গ এবং বিবিধ। বঙ্গ–ভঙ্গ রাজনীতি বিভাগের অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা যেতো। কিন্তু বিষয়টি আলাদা করে বিবেচনা করা হলো এ কারণে, রাজনীতি সম্পর্কিত যে কটি সংবাদ সংগৃহীত হয়েছে তা থেকে এটি সম্পূর্ণ আলাদা এবং এ সম্পর্কিত সংবাদ/নিবন্ধও প্রচুর। ফলে, আলাদা বিভাগ হিসেবে তা দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণের দাবী রাখে। তবে, বলে রাখা ভালো, সংবাদপত্রে সংবাদকে কখনও চূড়ান্তভাবে একটি নির্দিষ্ট গণ্ডিতে ফেলা যায় না। একই সংবাদ একই সঙ্গে বিভিন্ন বিভাগে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা যেতে পারে। প্রতিটি অধ্যায়ের শুরুতে একটি সংক্ষিপ্ত ভূমিকা দেয়া হয়েছে তৃতীয় বন্ধনীর মাঝে। সংক্ষিপ্ত ভূমিকার পর ঐ বিষয়ের ওপর সংকলন। এক্ষেত্রে কোন রকম পরিবর্তন করা হয় নি। কোন শব্দের পর ... চিহ্ন থাকার অর্থ মূল পাঠ অস্পষ্ট বা বোঝা যায় নি। সংবাদ/রচনার যেগুলির টীকা দেওয়ার প্রয়োজন মনে করেছি সেগুলির ক্ষেত্রে ধারাবাহিকভাবে টীকাসমূহ দেওয়া হয়েছে।

বর্তমান খণ্ডটি স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ করার জন্য অনেক ক্ষেত্রে পূর্ববর্তী খণ্ডসমূহে উল্লিখিত [যেমন, কোন কোন সংকলন অধ্যায়ের ভূমিকা], টীকার পুনরাবৃত্তি করা হয়েছে।

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'ঢাকা নিউজ' ঢাকা তথা পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত প্রথম ইংরেজি সাপ্তাহিক সংবাদপত্র। 'বেঙ্গল-টাইমস' দ্বিতীয়। ঢাকার নবাব গণি মিয়া ও তাঁর নীলকর বন্ধুরা মিলে প্রকাশ করেছিলেন 'ঢাকা নিউজ'। সম্পাদক ছিলেন, আলেকজান্ডার ফর্বেস। কিন্তু ১৮৫৮-এর দিকে কর্তৃপক্ষের সঙ্গে মতের মিল না হওয়ায় ফর্বেস পদত্যাগ করেন। তখন কেম্প নামে একজন 'নেটিভ'-বিদ্বেষীকে 'ঢাকা নিউজ' সম্পাদনার ভার দেওয়া হয়। গণি মিয়া ও তাঁর সহযোগীরা প্রায় দশ বছরের মতো পত্রিকাটি চালিয়েছিলেন। এর পর খুব সম্ভব ১৮৬৯ সালে কেম্প পত্রিকাটি কিনে নেন এবং সম্পূর্ণ খোল-নলচে পাল্টে নতুনভাবে প্রকাশ শুরু করেন। যাত্রা শুরু হয় 'বেঙ্গল-টাইমস'-এর। অন্যভাবে বলা যায় 'ঢাকা নিউজ' থেকে 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' প্রকাশ পর্যন্ত একটি ধারাবাহিকতা ছিল।

ইংরেজিতে প্রকাশিত হওয়া সত্ত্বেও 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' ছিল শুধু ঢাকার নয়, পূর্ববঙ্গের সবচেয়ে প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকা। আকার, প্রকৃতি ও খবর পরিবেশনায়ও ছিল পত্রিকাটি পূর্ববঙ্গের অন্যান্য সংবাদপত্র থেকে আধুনিক।

'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' ছাপা হতো চারকলামে এবং আকারে ছিল আধুনিক সংবাদপত্রের মতো। আগেই উল্লেখ করেছি এর মালিক ও সম্পাদক ছিলেন ই. সি. কেম্প। প্রতি বুধ ও শনিবার পত্রিকাটি নিয়মিত প্রকাশিত হতো। এর প্রথম তিনপাতা জুড়ে থাকতো বিজ্ঞাপন, মাঝে মাঝে তা থাকতো শেষের পাতাতেও। অধিকাংশ বিজ্ঞাপন ছিল কলকাতার, তবে ঢাকা, লন্ডনেরও কিছু বিজ্ঞাপন থাকতো। বিজ্ঞাপনের হার সে আমলের পত্র-পত্রিকার তুলনায় ছিল বোধহয় খানিকটা বেশিই কিন্তু তা সত্ত্বেও সমকালীন অন্যান্য পত্রিকায় এত বিজ্ঞাপন থাকতো কিনা সন্দেহ। এক রূপীর নিচে কোন বিজ্ঞাপন ছাপা হতো না। অনিয়মিত বিজ্ঞাপনের ক্ষেত্রে প্রতি লাইনের হার ছিল চার আনা। দেশী বিজ্ঞাপন প্রতিটির হার ছিল দু'টাকা। এক কলাম বিজ্ঞাপন নিয়মিত তিনমাসের জন্যে ছাপলে দিতে হতো ষাট টাকা।

সমসাময়িক অন্যান্য পত্রিকার তুলনায় এর দামও ছিল বেশি। ঢাকায় আট আনা, মফস্বলে ন' আনা প্রতি সংখ্যা। চাঁদার হার ছিল অগ্রিম বাৎসরিক ১৮ রুপী (সডাক ২৪ রুপী) অগ্রিম না হলে সাড়ে ২৪ রুপী (সডাক ত্রিশ রুপী আট আনা)। অবশ্য সময় সময় তা বদলেছে।

পত্রিকার বিষয়বস্তুর মধ্যে ছিল বিভিন্ন পত্রিকা থেকে সংকলন, লন্ডন এবং ফ্রান্সের চিঠি, কিছু প্রবন্ধ, ঢাকা ও অন্যান্য অঞ্চলের সংক্ষিপ্ত খবর। মাঝে মাঝে ছাপা হতো কবিতাও। তবে, সুযোগ পেলেই পত্রিকাটি দেশীয়দের প্রতি কটূক্তি করতো। বঙ্গভঙ্গের পর পত্রিকার নামবদল করা হয় — 'ইস্টার্ণ বেঙ্গল অ্যান্ড আসাম টাইমস'।

'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' লাভজনক পত্রিকা ছিল বলে অনুমান করছি। কারণ, এর বিজ্ঞাপন। তা'ছাড়া লাভজনক না হলে পঞ্চাশ বছর একটি সংবাদপত্র তাও ইংরেজি ভাষায় এতো দীর্ঘ দিন ধরে টিকে থাকতে পারতো না। এখানে মনে রাখা দরকার, পূর্ববঙ্গের অধিকাংশ মানুষ ছিল তখন নিরক্ষর।

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সংবাদপত্রের নিরপেক্ষ নীতি বলে কিছু নেই। সংবাদ-সামিয়কপত্র সবসময় জনগণের একটি অংশের মত প্রকাশ করে মাত্র। উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদপত্রগুলিও এর ব্যতিক্রম নয়। প্রায় প্রতিটি সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্র সমর্থন করতো একটি বিশেষ গোষ্ঠী বা দল বা সম্প্রদায়কে। যিনি এর কোনটির সঙ্গে ছিলেন না তিনি তাঁর আপন রুচি, ইচ্ছার প্রতিফলন ঘটাতেন সংবাদ-সাময়িকপত্রে। কিন্তু, তার সঙ্গেও সম্পর্ক থাকতো প্রত্যক্ষ অথবা পরোক্ষভাবে কোন আদর্শের। যেমন, 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' ছিল প্রথমে প্রত্যক্ষ এবং পরে গোড়া হিন্দুদের মুখপত্র। 'ঢাকা নিউজ' ছিল নীলকরদের ; 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' ইংরেজদের।

ই. সি. কেম্প ছিলেন 'নেটিভ'-বিদ্বেষী। বৈপরীত্যভরা ছিল তার চরিত্র। দু একটি উদাহরণ দিচ্ছি। ১৮৯০-৯১ সালে 'সহবাস সম্মতি আইন' নিয়ে আন্দোলন শুরু হলে, মুসলমানদের একটি অংশ নবাব আহসানউল্লাহ্র নেতৃত্বে সমর্থন করেছিলো সরকার পক্ষ। নবাব কাউন্সিলে বলেছিলেন, তিনি ঢাকার মুসলমান সম্প্রদায়ের বিজ্ঞ ব্যক্তিদের সঙ্গে কথা বলেছেন এবং তাঁর বিশ্বাস পূববঙ্গের মুসলমানদের বৃহত্তর অংশ বিলের পক্ষে। কেম্প এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে তাঁর পত্রিকায় লিখলেন, নবাব এখানকার মুসলমানদের নিয়মকানুন সম্পর্কে অজ্ঞ। তাই তিনি অমন মন্তব্য করছেন। এই বিল মুসলমানদের ধর্মে আঘাত হানছে। হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের নেতারা নিজ সম্প্রদায় সম্পর্কে একই ধরনের বক্তব্য রাখছিলেন। মুসলমান সমাজের বৃহত্তর অংশ সরকার বিরোধী আন্দোলনে যোগ দেয়নি বলেই অনুমান করছি। কিন্তু কেম্প মুসলমানভক্ত হয়েও বিরোধীপক্ষ এবং সরকারের বিপক্ষে অবস্থান নিয়েছিলেন। দেশীয়দের ক্ষেত্রে তাঁর পক্ষপাত যে ছিল মুসলমানদের প্রতি তাঁর প্রমাণ ১৮৮৮ তে স্যার সৈয়দ আহমদকে লেখা একটি চিঠি —

"Dear Sir,

It is proposed to hold a public meeting of Muhammadans on Sunday next at the Northbrook Hall is practicable. When resolutions will very likely to be passed to propose affiliation to the National Patriotic Association As an old and staunch supporter of Muhammadan interests, I deem it right to inform you of this It would be an encouragement if you wire approval as there is no time for a reply and I couldn't wire earlier as no day had been fixed. With Best wishes.

[Hossainur Rahman. *Hindu-Muslim Relations in Bengal* (1905-47). Bombay, 1974. (Appendix)]

আবার ১৯০৫ সালে বঙ্গভঙ্গ আন্দোলনের সময় সরকার বিরোধী আন্দোলন যা প্রধানত হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের নেতৃত্বে পরিচালিত হয়েছিলো তাতে বিশেষ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন কেম্প।

বৈপরীত্যে ভরা হলেও কেম্পের সাধারণ দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি ছিল স্বাভাবিকভাবেই স্বজাতির পক্ষে। দেশীয়দের পত্রিকাটি নিম্নস্তরেরই মনে করতো। ইংরেজ বাণিজ্য সম্প্রসারণের পক্ষে সব সময় লিখে এসেছেন কেম্প। সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বর্তমান খণ্ডের সংকলিত রচনা/সংবাদগুলিকে ঐ দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে বিচার করে উপাদান হিসেবে ব্যবহার করতে হবে। এ সব বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা করেছি প্রথম খণ্ডে, তাই এখানে আর তা পুনরুল্লেখ করলাম না।

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১৯৭৯-৮০ সালে ইন্ডিয়া অফিস লাইব্রেরিতে কাজ করার সময় আমি 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-এর ১৮৭৬ থেকে ১৯০৫-এর সংখ্যাগুলি খুঁজে পাই। ইন্ডিয়া অফিস ছাড়া এ পত্রিকার কোন সংখ্যা আর কোথাও আছে বলে আমার জানা নেই। বর্তমান সংকলনের ভিত্তি ঐ সময়ের সংখ্যাগুলি।

কোন গ্রন্থই নিখুঁত নয়, বর্তমান গ্রন্থতো নয় ই। এ গ্রন্থমালা প্রস্তুত ও প্রকাশে আমার সময় লেগেছে ১৮ বছর। ফলে, অনেক ক্ষেত্রে খেই হারিয়ে ফেলেছি। যেমন, 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' থেকে কপি করা অনেক সংবাদ/রচনার কপি হারিয়ে গেছে। সেগুলি উদ্ধার করতে হলে আমাকে আবার লন্ডন যেতে হবে যা সম্ভব নয়। এবং এ ধরনের গবেষণা কাজে সহায়তা করার মতো অবকাঠামোগত সহজ কোন ব্যবস্থাও নেই। তাছাড়া আমার আরো মনে হয়েছে, আজ যদি আমি ঐ পত্রিকা থেকে সংকলন করতাম তাহলে তা সতের বছর আগে করা সংকলন থেকে আরো সংহত ও সমৃদ্ধ হতো।

গত প্রায় দু'দশক বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত গত শতকের পত্র পত্রিকার খোঁজ করে বেরিয়েছি। উনিশ শতকের বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত অধিকাংশ পত্র-পত্রিকাই এখন দুষ্প্রাপ্য। কোন পাঠক/গবেষক যদি উনিশ শতকের পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে প্রকাশিত কোন সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্রের খোঁজ দিতে পারেন তাহলে উপকৃত হবো।

প্রথম খণ্ডে, উনিশ শতকের বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রকাশিত সংবাদ সাময়িকপত্রের যে তালিকা ও সংখ্যা দেওয়া হয়েছে বলা বাহুল্য তা সম্পূর্ণ নয়। আরো অনেক পত্র পত্রিকা হয়ত তখন বেরিয়েছিলো যা এখন হারিয়ে গেছে বা আমার চোখে পড়েনি। ভবিষ্যতে কোন গবেষক হয়ত সুষ্ঠুভাবে এ কাজ সম্পন্ন করবেন। সে আশায়ই রইলাম।

মুনতাসীর মামুন

সূচিপত্র

কৃষি ও কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণ

[চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোস্তকে চিরস্থায়ী হিসেবেই মেনে নিয়েছিলেন ইংরেজ সম্পাদকরা। কৃষি, কৃষক বিষয়ক কোন কিছু আলোচনা করতে হলে তারা চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তকেই সামনে রাখতেন। প্রচলিত এই মতই তারা তুলে ধরতেন যে, চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত জমিদারদের রক্ষাকবচ ও কৃষকদেব সুন্দর জীবন যাপনের উপায়। এ পবিপ্রেক্ষিতে, বায়তদের সম্পর্কে কোন উচ্চধারণা বা সহানুভূতি পোষণ না করাই স্বাভাবিক। সে কারণে, ১৮৭৬ সালে ঢাকা জেলায়, ১৮৫৯ সালের দশ আইনের কারণে কৃষক অসন্তোষ দানা বাধতে থাকলে, *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* দশ আইনের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করে। কারণ, তা রায়তদের জমিতে অধিকাব দিয়েছিলো। তাদের মূল কথা ছিল যা লেখা হয়েছে ২৮.৬.১৮৭৬ তারিখের পত্রিকায় —

"In the first place, the permanent settlement never recognized the occupancy right of a ryot ; it is simply the creation of Act X of 1859 and as such there can be no difference between the rates of rent of the occupancy and non-occupancy ryots by virtue of the permanent settlement which is Magna charta of both Zamindars and ryots."

১৮৫৯ সালের আইন জমিদারদের অধিকার ক্ষুণ্ণ করে নি। শুধু রায়তদের খানিকটা অধিকাব প্রতিষ্ঠা কবতে চেয়েছে। এ কারণে রায়তদের তিনটি ভাগে ভাগ করা হয় —

"১ চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত থেকে যারা অপবিবর্তিত হারে খাজনা দিয়ে আসছে, তাদের খাজনা ভবিষ্যতে বৃদ্ধি করা যাবে না, (ধারা ৩) এবং জমি থেকে তাদের উৎখাত করা যাবে না। এরা চিরস্থায়ী রায়ত।

২. যারা একনাগারে কমপক্ষে বারো বছর জমি ভোগ-দখল করে আসছে তারা স্থিতিবান বায়ত (occupancy raiyat)। তাদের খাজনা বাড়ানো যাবে। তবে জমির সম্পদ বৃদ্ধি না পেলে বা মুদ্রাস্ফীতি না ঘটলে খাজনা বাড়ানো যাবে না। নিয়মিত খাজনা প্রদান করলে তাদের উৎখাত করা যাবে না (ধারা ৬)।

৩ যাবা বারো বছরের কম জমির ভোগ দখলে আছে বা যারা খুবই অস্থায়ী, তারা অস্থিতিবান রায়ত (non-occupancy raiyat)। তারা জমিদারের ইচ্ছাধীন প্রজা (tenants-at-will)। তাদের খাজনা কারণ দর্শানো ছাড়াই বাড়ানো যাবে এবং নোটিশ প্রদান সাপেক্ষে তাদের উৎখাত করা যাবে (ধারা ৮)।[১]

এ আইন যে রায়ত-জমিদার সম্পর্কের উন্নতি করেছিলো তা' নয়। সরকার দশ আইন করেছিলো কৃষক অসন্তোষ রোধ করার জন্য। কিন্তু কৃষক অসন্তোষ রোধ করা যায় নি। পাবনার কৃষক বিদ্রোহ-ই এর উদাহরণ।

এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সরকার আবার চিন্তাভাবনা শুরু করে এবং বিস্তর পর্যালোচনার পর ১৮৭৯ সালে একটি 'রেন্ট কমিশন' গঠন করা হয়। 'রেন্ট কমিশনের' রিপোর্টের ওপর ভিত্তি করে ১৮৮৫ সালে পাশ করা হয় বঙ্গীয় প্রজাস্বত্ব আইন বা Bengal Tenancy Act VIII of 1885. এর বৈশিষ্ট্যগুলি ছিল —

"১. যে সব রায়তের খাজনার হার চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের পর কখনো বাড়ানো হয় নি তাদের খাজনা ভূস্বামীগণ ভবিষ্যতেও আর বৃদ্ধি করতে পারবেন না।

২. বারো বছর বা ততোধিক বছরের উর্ধ্বে ভোগ-দখলকার রায়তের খাজনার হার শুধু তখনই বাড়ানো যেতে পারে যখন জমিদার আদালতের মাধ্যমে প্রমাণ করতে পারবে যে তার নিজস্ব উদ্যোগ ও বিনিয়োগের ফলেই জমির উৎপাদনক্ষমতা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে। এবং এহেন পরিস্থিতিতে খাজনা বৃদ্ধি করলেও সে বৃদ্ধির হার অবশ্য সমগুণের পার্শ্ববর্তী জমির খাজনার হার অতিক্রম করতে পারবে না।

৩. স্বল্প মেয়াদি বা কুর্ফা রায়তের খাজনার হার চুক্তির মেয়াদ উত্তীর্ণ হবার আগে বৃদ্ধি করা যাবে না।

৪. কুর্ফা রায়ত ব্যতিরেকে বাকি সব শ্রেণীর রায়ত প্রথা অনুসারে জমি হস্তান্তর করতে পারবে, তবে প্রতি হস্তান্তরের জন্য জমিদারকে নির্দিষ্ট হারে সেলামি প্রদান করতে হবে।"[২]

অধ্যাপক সিরাজুল ইসলাম উল্লেখ করেছেন খাজনা নয়, এ শতকে কৃষকের উদ্বৃত্ত আত্মসাৎ করা হতো এই সেলামির মাধ্যমে।[৩] ১৯৫০ সালে বিলুপ্ত হয় চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত।

বেঙ্গল টাইমস কৃষিপণ্য উৎপাদন ও কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণের প্রতি উৎসাহী ছিল। নতুন পণ্য হিসেবে চা'য়ের প্রতি তাদের আগ্রহ ছিল বেশি, কারণ, পূর্ববঙ্গে তখন নীলচাষের গুরুত্ব ও ব্যাপকতা হ্রাস পেয়েছিলো।

১৮২৪ সালে আসামে চা'য়ের খোঁজ পাওয়া যায় এবং ১৮৩০-এর দিকে তা বাণিজ্যিক গুরুত্ব পায়। সরকার বিনিয়োগ শুরু করে। তবে, ১৮৩৯ সালে 'আসাম কোম্পানী' প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হলে সরকার বিনিয়োগ থেকে সরে দাঁড়ায়।

আন্তর্জাতিক বাজারে চীনের চা বাজার দখল করেছিলো। ১৮৫০ থেকে আসামের চা বাজার দখল করে নেয় এবং ক্রমেই তা বাড়তে থাকে। চা'য়ে বিনিয়োগও বৃদ্ধি পায়। চা'য়ের জন্য জমির অভাব ছিল না। অভাব ছিল চা-শ্রমিকের। ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যে আইন করে ১৮৪০ সালে দাস-ব্যবসা লুপ্ত করা হলেও, বাংলা বা ভারতবর্ষে 'কনট্রাক্ট লেবার' চালু ছিল। এর ১৩নং ধারায় বলা ছিল—

> "The word contract as used in this Act, shall extend to all contracts and agreements whether by deed, or written or verbal, and whether such contract be for a term certain ; or for specified work."[৪]

এই ধারার সুযোগ নিয়ে চা-কররা আড়কাঠির মাধ্যমে বিভিন্ন অঞ্চল থেকে শ্রমিক সংগ্রহ করতে থাকে এবং মূলতঃ তাদের দাস হিসেবে ব্যবহার শুরু করে। নীলকরের পর উনিশ শতকের দ্বিতীয়ার্ধে চা-কররা ছিল বাঙালি সম্পাদকদের সমালোচনার লক্ষ্যবস্তু।

যে পণ্যগুলি কৃষিপণ্যের বাণিজ্যিকীকরণে প্রধান ছিল সেগুলি ছিল চা, রেশম, আফিম, নীল, আখ ও পাট। *বেঙ্গল টাইমসে* 'চা'–প্রসঙ্গ বেশি এসেছে তবে মাঝে মাঝে পাটের উল্লেখও আছে।

১৮৫০ থেকে অর্থকরী ফসল হিসেবে পাট পরিচিত হতে থাকে এবং ক্রমেই তার উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি পেতে থাকে এবং একসময় তা প্রধান অর্থকরী ফসল হয়ে ওঠে। ১৮৯১–৯২ থেকে ১৯০০–১৯০১ পর্যন্ত পাট চাষের বার্ষিক হার ছিল ২০৩০৫৪৮ একর। এ শতকের শুরুতে (১৯০১–০২) রংপুর, ত্রিপুরা, ময়মনসিংহ এবং ঢাকার আবাদি জমির যথাক্রমে ৩০%, ২৭%, ১৮% এবং ১৩.৫% ব্যবহৃত হতো পাটচাষে।[৫]

কলকাতায় ১৮৫৫ সালে প্রথম পাটকল স্থাপন করা হয় এবং ১৮৭৫ সালের মধ্যে মিলের সংখ্যা দাঁড়ায় ১৩টিতে।[৬] এতেই পাটের ক্রমবর্ধমান বাজারের কথা আঁচ করা যায়।

কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণ সম্পর্কে বিনয় চৌধুরী লিখেছেন — "এটা স্বীকার্য যে, কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণের ফলে উৎপাদনের ক্ষেত্রে কোন কাঠামোগত পরিবর্তন সাধিত হয় নি। কাঠামোগত পরিবর্তন সাধন সম্ভব হলে ক্ষুদ্র কৃষি অর্থনীতি হয়তো অন্তর্হিত হতো এবং কৃষিতে পুঁজিবাদী সম্পর্ক সৃষ্টি হতো। সাধারণভাবে কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণের ফলে প্রভাবশালী গ্রাম্য গোষ্ঠীসমূহ তাদের ক্ষমতার ভিত্তি শক্তিশালী ও সংগঠিত করে। তবে কোন কোন ক্ষেত্রে নিয়ন্ত্রণ দুর্বল হয়ে পড়ে। গ্রাম্য ভূস্বামী, যারা কৃষির সঙ্গে যুক্ত ছিল, তাদের প্রাধান্য প্রতিষ্ঠার গতানুগতিক ধারা ছিল খাজনা ও আইন বহির্ভূত আবওয়াব আদায়ের মাধ্যমে কৃষকের কৃষি উদ্বৃত্ত আত্মসাৎ করা। এই আত্মসাতের ফলে উৎপাদকের উন্নতি সীমিত হয়ে পড়ে।"[৭]

বেঙ্গল টাইমস–এ চা, পাট ছাড়া ও নীল, সিল্ক, এমনকি সিনকোনা প্রসঙ্গও আলোচিত হয়েছে।]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. সিরাজুল ইসলাম, 'চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত ও কৃষি অর্থনীতি', সিরাজুল ইসলাম সম্পাদিত, *বাংলাদেশের ইতিহাস*, দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৩, পৃ. ২৩৮।
২. *ঐ*, পৃ. ২৪০।
৩. *ঐ*, পৃ. ২৪৬।
৪. অমর দত্ত, *আসামে চা–কুলি আন্দোলন ও দ্বারকানাথ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৭৮, পৃ. ১৪।
৫. বিনয়ভূষণ চৌধুরী, 'কৃষির বাণিজ্যিকীকরণ', সিরাজুল ইসলাম সম্পাদিত, *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ৩৫১।
৬. *ঐ*, পৃ. ৩৫২।
৭. *ঐ*, পৃ. ৩৭২।

সংকলন

TEA

(Continued from the issue of the 8th instant.)

As regards the waste land sale question, it is supposed that, if a planter were but to apply for the land within a reasonable time, he would experience no difficulty whatever in obtaining it. There were 109 applications made since the promulgation of the new sale rules, seventy-seven of which have been disposed of without any complaint to the Chief Commissioner. The want of communication is a grievance that cannot be easily removed, but Colonel Keatinge's earnest attention has been given to the subject, and what could be done in connection with the opening up of the inter-district roads, has not been left undone. The Chief Commissioner is trying his utmost to introduce wheeled traffic into Assam, in places where the roads are in a proper condition to bear it. There is also a slight possibility of wire communication being opened with Upper Assam. It was expected that Government would aid the improvement of steam communication in the northern valley, where it was greatly needed, but Government could not afford the expenses of such a scheme ; and the consequence is that, it occupies more time to travel from Calcutta to Upper Assam, than from Bombay to London.

Of course, different opinions prevail among the planters as to how far Government should *interfere* with the labourer, before and after immigration : the introduction of the *Sirdari* system of recruiting, however, will do a great deal towards removing the restrictions upon free immigration. But whether this desirable result is not connected with the action of Government in former days is questionable. At any rate, a really good planter, cares very little for any interference, on the part of the authorities. Nothing fresh has transpired regarding the best method of cultivation, although planters disagree as to the kinds of soil best suited for the growth of tea ; but there can be no doubt as to the virgin soil of the hills, where the climate is hot and moist and where indigenous

tea is often found, being the best. Tea will grow well in almost every district in Assam. The Chief Commissioner expects that the planters will give their opinions on the growth of tea, and on other useful subjects, when submitting their returns next year. Manure is said to be very little used in Assam, where the best attention is given to the hoeing and weeding of the spaces between the plants and the regular filling up of *vacancies*, which occur when the plants die. Machinery it would appear has gained a firm hold, and the rolling on many large estates, is thus being carried on. There have been different inventions in machinery of late, but it has not been decided which of them is the best. 140 engines have been imported to Assam within the last five years, the nominal horse power of which is between 400 and 500. Like other things, however, machinery has its drawbacks--whether real or imaginary—which hinders its more frequent introduction. And though it is an admitted fact that, a saving of from 50 to 60 per cents, is secured from it in manual labour, still a strong prejudice prevails against machine-rolled tea. Probably the chief, and certainly a weighty objection is that, unless considerable quantities of leaf can be procured at a time, no profit whatever can be derived from the use of machinery. Then there is the objection urged by the manager of Chandighat of the dearth of qualified Native artizans to superintend the working and repairs of machinery ; nevertheless the day is fast approaching, when all labour-saving machinery will be called into use. One of the most vital questions to the planters now-a-days, is the fuel-supply. At present all the firing operations are managed by the charcoal got from the forest, cleared from the tea ground, which grows on those parts of the several grants which are uncultivated. Thus timber is destroyed to a large extent, but sooner or later it will become a matter of enquiry as to how tea is to be manufactured with cheaper fuel than charcoal. How great a boon such an invention would prove, need not be dwelt upon here. The following details furnished by the Deputy-Commissioner for the Assam district may, however, prove interesting. In 1873, supply bills, money orders, and currency notes were cashed to the amount of Rs. 2,557,176 by managers of gardens. Next year the amount cashed was Rs. 2,525,736. Now, the total acreage taken up for cultivation in Cachar was in 1874-232,445 acres, and the total of the Province was 825,995, or about three times the Cachar area. The amount paid for the production may thus be taken at no less than seventy-five lakhs per annum, but the probability is that it is even more than that sum, as the prices of labour and food are greater in most parts of Assam Proper than in China.

15.4.1876

COMMERCIAL

L. W. TOULMIN AND CO.'S WEEKLY CIRCULAR

Calcutta : Tuesday, June 20th, 1876.

TELEGRAMS

From London dated yesterday were received here to-day. Calcutta Mails of the 26th ultimo reached London 19th instant. Indian Tea : firm– quotations in bond 6d. @ 3s. 9d. : stock 8,100,000lbs. Bengal Silk : active : Best European filatures 13s. 6d. : Best Native filatures 11s. Od : stock 2,675 bales. Cotton :— Steady : Bengal : Dhollera : Orleons : $3\frac{3}{4}$d—$4\frac{2}{3}$d — 3—16d. spot : Od.—Od.—Od. afloat : Liverpool weekly report dated 9th instant sales 37,000 bales : taken by the trade 30000 American afloat 120,000 ; Indian afloat 220,000. Jute :— dull : Doss :—K quality D £16-0-0 spot : £16-10-0 afloat :—Doss :— Crown assorted £15-5-0 spot ; £14-10-0 afloat : Dowrah £11-15-0 spot : £11-10-0 afloat : London stock 18,000 tons. Safflower :—Dull : Dacca cake £2.0 @ £4-15 : stock 3,344 bales.

INDIGO

The rains have now commenced and so far moderately. Manufacturing has began in some districts, but it will generally be later than usual, as the plant has everywhere been late and backward.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK.

Great Britain 44 Foreign Europe nil · America nil : Gulphs and Suez 5 : Total 49 Indian maunds.

EXPORTS OF INDIGO FROM NOVEMBER 1ST' 75 TO 10TH INSTANT.

	Chests.	Indian Mds.	Srs.	Ch.
Great Britain ..	20,103	69,710	22	12
Marseilles ...	1,930	6,347	6	6
Trieste ...	2,344	7,022	9	11
Other European Ports	5,182	16,300	11	15
America ...	1,500	5,148	12	13
Gulphs & Suez ...	1,589	5,703	7	1
Total ...	32,648	112 231	30	10

INDIAN TEA

Public Sales held on the 16th instant, when 5,000 packages were offered of which 4,669 found buyers. Previous rates were fully maintained for all descriptions finest grades and strong liquering brokens were especially in demand and showed a further slight advance in prices. The next sales are advertised for the 25th instant.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

Great Britain 133,966 : Foreign Europe nil : America nil · China 348 : All other places 248 : Total 134lbs.

BENGAL SILK

The only arrivals during the week have been 20 bales Radnagore and 35 bales Surdah S for which a further advance is demanded by holders. The enquiry continues very limited. Unsold stock on the spot 50 bales.

SALES SINCE 6TH INSTANT

20 Bales J and R W Radnagore March Bund for France Re. 15-8.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

Great Britain 5 : Foreign Europe 35 : Bombay and Coast nil : All other places nil : Total 40 bales.

CORAHS.—No sales reported.

TUSSERS.—No enquiry.

BENGAL COTTON

Nothing doing for Europe. Holders continue to China. Sales for local consumption about 400 bales at Rs. 14 @ 17. The Steamer "Penguin" with 3,070 bales and "Arratoon Apear" with 2,944 bales cleared 19th instant for Hong-Kong. The import per rail from Up-country for the fortnight ending 10th instant was 2,954 bales against 2,345, bales for the corresponding period of last year. Unsold stock on spot 4 at 5,000 bales.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

Great Britain 40 : Foreign Europe nil : China 4,702 :All other places nil : Total 4,742.

BENGAL RICE

TABLE.—A dull and drooping market has again prevailed during the week. Seeta Table is quoted two annas lower without however leading to any transactions. Gross qualities are occasionally bought for Bombay and the Persian Gulph at declining prices.

BALLAM.—In restricted demand only a limited business is in progress for Mauritius and Bourbon. Prices remain unchanged.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

Great Britain 2,725 : Foreign Europe 72 : Bombay and Persian Gulph 3,213 : Singapore 798 : Mauritius 32,111 : All other places 42,846 : Total 81,671 Indies maunds.

JUTE

Although Shippers could now purchase on easier terms they are unwilling to operate except at rates which balers stoutly refuse to contract at. They argue and with reason that better prices will be obtained from local consumers as the first of the new seasons crop will in all likelihood be forced up beyond the idea of Manufactures here and will probably continue so during the months of August and September. For loose there is a moderate demand at easier rates. Arrival during the week 27,000 maunds. Deliveries during the week 26,000 maunds. Unsold stock on the spot 34,000 maunds. Advice from Serajgange report a better demand at steady rates. Stocks there 9,000 maunds.

NEW CROP : 76— With the exception of the arrival of a very small quantity here there is nothing fresh to report since last issue.

JUTE. REJECTIONS— In Loose little doing. Quotations Rs. 2-10-0 @ 2-11-0 per bazar maund. For Bales there in no enquiry. Quotation Rs. 15-12-0 @ 16-0-0 f.o.b. per bale of 400lbs.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

GREAT BRITAIN 882 : Foreign Europe nil : America 75 : Bombay 78 : Total 1,035 tons.

Jute Cuttings. Loose have been in request @ Rs. 2-3 @ 3 per bazar maund. In Baled a moderate business has been transacted @ Rs. 13 f. o. b. per bale of 400lbs.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

Great Britain nil : Foreign Europe nil : America nil : Bombay nil : Total nil.

ENTRIES OF JUTE, REJECTIONS & CUTTINGS :— AUGUST 75 @ 18TH INSTANT.

Jute & Rejections	Season 73 74	Season 74 75	Season 75 76
Great Britain	191,585	174 435	192,005
Foreign Europe	1,277	3,498	4,333
America	5,671	5,487	8,058
Bombay & Coast	1,855	4,427	967
TOTAL TONS	200·389	187,897	205,363

Jute Cuttings	Season 73 74	Season 74 75	Season 75 76
Great Britain	14,348	6,019	5,355
Foreign Europe	1,140	537	89
America	20,592	35,021	39,911
Bombay & Coast	31	50	. ....
TOTAL TONS	36,111	41,627	45,355

SAFFLOWER

There is little or no demand either for Great Britain, United States or China, and unless prices decline to Rs. 25 for best Flower, it is improbable that shippers will touch the article at all for the present. In the meanwhile the stock is increasing in the hands of dealers, who have now become anxious sellers but without resulting in business as yet. The quality of the crop 1876 is poor in the extreme and much adulterated as well as mixed with old Flower. Unsold stock 500 bales. Quotations Rs. 20 @ 28.

ENTRIES FOR THE WEEK

Great Britain 61 : Foreign Europe nil : America nil : China nil : All other places 180 : Total 241 bales.

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER AT DACCA.

Date	Barometer		Thermometer							
& month	Highest	Lowest	Highest			Lowest				
June 1876	Inches	Inches	Mer	Max	Wet	Mer	Max	Wet	Rain fall	Dire-ction of wind
9th	29 596	29 576	80	90	75 5	80	78	76 5	1 33	S E
10th	29 607	29 535	88	91	82 0	87	76	82 5	1 10	Do
11th	29 607	29 525	85	92	79 5	87	79	83 5	1 10	Do
12th	29 594	29 535	84	92	81.5	87	79	86 5	1 10	S & Sr
13th	29 657	29 432	85	92	81 5	88	79	84 5	1 14	S E
14th	29 632	29 622	89	94	82 5	88	32	84 5	1 14	S & SE
15th	29 592	29 522	85	94	82 5	88	83	81 5	1 6	S

NARAINGUNGE & DACCA PRICE CURRENT

21 June. 1876

BEES WAX	Rs	64	0	@	65	Per	Md
Do Do mixed	"	55	0	@	56	0	do
BARLEY	"	1	0				do
BETELNUT MANICKCHUNDE		5	6	@	5	10	do
Do Roypoora	'	5	4				d0
BOOT GRAM	"	1	10	@	1	14	do
CHILLIES (dry)	"	6	4	@	7	8	do
COPPER New Plate	"	45	0				do
do old	"	30	0				do
Cotton	"	16	8				do
Do with seeds	"	5	12		0	0	do
CUTCH Mowgha	"	13	8	@	14	8	do
GHEE 2ND quality		26	0	@	27	0	do
GOLD LEAF (China)	"	16	10			per	Pre
GOLD MOHUR (New)	"	0	0		per	Bhurees	
GUNNY BAGS Poobah	"	15	0	@	15	8 Per	100
Do do Bickrampore	"	15	0				d0
Do. Do Cosoorah	"	0	0				do
HIDES DEAD	"	150	0				d0
Do Killed	"	250	0				do
INDIAN RUBEER ball	"	43	0			per	Mds
Do Do cake	"	40	0				do
IRON ENGLISH	"	4	8	@	5	0	do
Do SWEDISH	"	71	0	@	8	0	do
JUTE	"	2	13	@	2	14	do
Do Inferior	'	2	8	@	2	10	do
KALLYE	"	1	2				do
LIME	"	7	0	@	7	100	Mds
LINSEED	"	2	11	@	2	12 per	Md
MOOGH	"	2	12	@	2	13	do
MUSTARD OIL	"	11	0	@	11	4	do
DO SEED	"	3	9	@	3	10	do
PADDY	"	1	2				do
PEPPER	"	18	0				do

RICE, Inferior	1	13	@	1	14	do
Do Roymookhee	2	3	@	2	4	do
Do Autub						do
SAFFLOWER	38	0	nominal			do
DO Inferior & mid	22	0		0	0	do
SALT	4	4				do
SHELL LAC	40	0	@	50	0	do
STICK LAC	18	0	@	22	0	do
SEED LAC	25	0				do
DACCA SOAP	13	0	@	14	0	do
SUGAR HEMP	None					do
TEEL SEED	2	14				do
TIN OF RUNG	35	0				do
TOBACCO LEAF	13	0	@	13	4	do
Do Do Inferior				6	0	do
TUEMERIC	5	4	@	7	0	do
WHEAT Champaporree				2	7	do
Do Gungajullee				2	2	do
ZIENC				14	0	do

COTTON YARNS (BRITISH) MULE TWIST.

AVERAGE Nos 40	3	2		per bundle
50	3	3		do
60	4	2		do
70	4	12		do
80	5	8		do
90	5	10		do
100		6	4	do

BOAT HIRE TO CALCUTTA.

JUTE	Rs	Per 100 Mds
SEED		do

Bazar rates of Discount.

Bills on Calcutta of 60 da at Rs.	Per Ct dist
Do Do of 18 days after date Rs	at per do

MUDUN MOHUN BYSACK & BROTHERS. DACCA

24.6.1876

THE RENT QUESTION

(Communicated)

The mischievous results of Act X of 1859 were this time as far from being remedied as they were three years ago, and all schemes devised, up to date, to bring about a desirable state of affairs between landlord and tenant have proved abortive. Sir George Campbell[১], who, at the outset of his career as Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, carried on a regular crusade against the Zemindars, and pampered and petted the ignorant and aggressive peasantry, found out, when too late, the folly of the rash and uncalled-for course he had adopted of setting the riots against their land lords. But the mischief was done ; the flame of ill-feeling engendered by Act X of 1859[২] and perpetually fanned by Sir George Campbell's hostile attitude towards the Bengal Zemindars, extended far and wide into the Province, carrying destruction and ruin to many a prosperous and heretofore peaceful estate. He frequently changed his policy and did everything to conciliate the commanding parties. The Zemindars gave in, but not so the peasants. In their ignorance and conceit they imagined that the weapon with which they were furnished by Act X of 1859, was too strong for their opponent and that they had only to hold out against all persuasions for a times to effect of change if their position— to become, in fact, the actual lords of the lands they cultivated. They became so infatuate with the bright prospect— and designing agents were not wanting to keep up the delusion— that combinations were formed and subscriptions raised, to fight their Zemindars. They recognised, theoretically, none but the MAHARANEE, to whom their rents were payable. If any attempts were made by the Zemindars or their Agents to collect rent, they were assaulted their villages burnt, and they were otherwise maltreated and detained Government officers too, whose duty it was to had the breach, stood by the aggressor though they know that the riots committed by the peasantry could not be tolerated, if only for the sake of good Government. Distress and destitution have been brought on both parties through pampered ignorance and aggression Extraordinarily conciliatory measures have been adopted towards the aggressors, but the result is only nominal, the bantering after outrage has only been smothered not extinguished, and all that Sir George Campbell did, and his successor Sir Richard Temple[৩] are doing, have hitherto signally failed to bring about a tranquil state of things. And all this is due to the uncalled for and unwise interference in a matter which should best have been let alone. The relation between landlord and tenant should

never have been disturbed by meddling laws, law-makers and their administrators. Even now, the intermeddling spirit seems to reign supreme, and Sir Richard Temple, after seeing all other measured fail, is still busy making amendments in the Rent Law. The remedies proposed in his Minute of the 18th April last, will defeat their object and aggravate a thousand—fold the evils which are sought to be removed or mitigated. Taking up the one furnished by that great stumbling block, the British Indian Association,[৮]—which, without consulting the great body of Zemindars who are either not its members, or who, from the distance of their residence from the Metropolis, can never participate in its proceedings—stated that it would be a fair adjustment to an occupancy riot, in a claim for enhancement of rent, if he paid 25 percent. less than the non-occupancy riot. Sir Richard proposes a graduated or rather a sliding scale of enhancement for the occupancy rent, which in the end will prove no enhancement, but an actual decrease of rent, and consequently, fruitful of endless trouble and misery, as we will presently show. According to the programme in the Minute, an occupancy riot of 20 years' standing is to pay 20 percent., of 30 years' standing 33 percent., and of 40 years' standing 67 percent. less of the enhanced rent than his brethren the non-occupancy riots. Now, the ultimate result of this sliding scale, if passed into law, would be that, as year by year, the occupancy class will increase, and with it the standing of its members will become older, the rent payable by such riots will gradually decrease, until, at last, they will fall far below the rates at the time of the Permanent Settlement[৯], and the Zemindars, no longer able to meet the Government demands, will be sold out one after another. And what a state of affairs will such a catastrophe present. Did Sir Richard conceive even the *probability* of a result so disastrous when he framed the programme. But irrespective of this certain ultimate result, there are other and equally grave objections against his proposed amendments passing into law. In the first place, the Permanent Settlement never recognized the occupancy right of a riot , it is simply the creation of Act X of 1859, and as such, there can be no difference between the rates of rent of the occupancy and non-occupancy riots by virtue of the Permanent Settlement, which is the Magna Charta of both Zemin dars and riots. In fact, even the creation of the occupancy right has not, up to date, created any difference in very many estates in the rates of rent payable by the two classes. Any attempt now to create a difference will be again to plunge the Province into endless litigation, fends, and distress. It would only serve to add fuel to the fire which, after devastating the greater portion of Lower Bengal

for more than three years, has now, as we stated been mothered but not extinguished. Rather than suffer their estates to pass one of their hands from inability to meet the Government demands owing to a certain diminution of rent consequent on the increase of occupancy class and the sliding scale of rent proposed by Sir Richard, the Zemindars will have recourse to the ejectment law to prevent the increase of the occupancy class and the diminution of rent, while the riots will withhold payment of rent, form into combinations, deluge the courts with complaints of oppressions and extortion on the part of the Zemindars, commit riots, burn down villages, and protected by laws framed for their special benefit by a paternal Government, and supported by philanthropic Government officers and Missionaries, will carry lawlessness and confusion far and wide. Each party, urged on by the strong mutual ill-feeling engendered and fostered by impolitic intermitting on the part of Government, will spare no stratagem no subterfuge, no crimes to compass the ruin of the other, without pausing for a moment to reflect that, this mutual strife can only end in the ultimate discomfiture of both. And who, after all, we ask, is responsible for such dreadful results, except that Government which stepped in, quite unnecessarily, to create, by its uncalled for interference between Zemindar and ryot, an unprecedented confusion, and subsequently by further interference, quite as unnecessary and uncalled for as in the previous instance, to reader that confusion worse confounded. As we have stated, the Permanent Settlement did not recognize the occupancy right of the ryot. Government was undoubtedly the owner of the country and its lands ; whatever profits accrued from the lands belonged therefore of rights of profit— increment or other, except the fixed revenue reserved to itself. Government permanently made over to the Zemindars, and to them alone. How can Sir Richard, then, presume to compel them to share the increment of the profit of the land with the riots without violating the Permanent Settlement. True, Government reserved to itself the right of interfering between Zemindars and riot to prevent rack-renting. But will not the sliding scale enable the occupancy ryot to sublet his holding and rack-rent the undertenant? Therefore, we say, Sir Richard should let Zemindars and ryots settle their own affairs between themselves without legislative interference.

28.6.1876

THE RENT QUESTION

The last number of the *Calcutta Review* contains an article on the chief topic of the day—the Rent question. It is from the pen of a

Native Zemindar, who, it seems, has taken some pains to standby the subject, and although we are not at one with him on many points, we must admit that he has brought forward some facts and arguments proving in themselves how very difficult the solution of the question has become, especially in its present complicated form. The Reviewer confirms what we have always assented regarding the blundering of the legislature from the very commencement in its framing of the revenue laws, and having made matters worse by each subsequent attempt to rectify its original error, until, at last, a complete and hopeless muddle has been made of the whole affair. The legislature erred in the first instance by omitting to fix the respective shares of the landlord and ryot in the produce of the land. To this error is attributable all the evils of our rent system. In the absence of a fixed proportion, the landlord asked, what was objected to by the ryot as too high, while between what the lord of the soil was willing to receive and what the effort— there was to wide a margin to admit of easy compromise. Thus dispute once engendered, went on incessantly ; sometimes in one, sometimes, in another district, and when the legislature interfered, confusion became worse confounded.

"it is hardly necessary to repeat, that a distinction between ejectable (or non-occupancy) and nonejectable (or occupancy) riots, which has time for its basis, when compiled with a further distinction between the two, as to the rate of assessment, necessarily confines the advantages to a limited class of riots, but the disadvantages extend to the general body of tenants, and its inevitable tendency is the expansion of rack-renting and the extinction of the favoured class."

The latter runs thus :—

"The nirikh system, taken by itself, or as a development of *bhag* system, and the privilege of ejectable riots to merge after a time into the general body of tenants, and then forward to claim an equal assessment with them, militate against the standard of assessment being derived from the rates of the exceptional class of outbound or non-occupancy riots. And the further elaboration of the principle founded on the duration of occupancy with respect to the several species of occupancy riots, is sure to heighten the evil alluded to, and will only drive matters to a hopeless state of confusion."

It will be seen that, while in para. I the Reviewer seems to hold that the number of occupancy riots is very small, and that a lesser rate of rent from that number will benefit only a very small

section of the riots ; in para 3 he states that, in time all riots will not only become occupancy riots, but that, as their standing becomes older, the sliding scale of rent will considerable decrease the vains of estates. In another place, he says, and with good reason, that should matters be allowed to take such a turn, several estates will soon have to change hands.

12.8.1876

DEFORESTATION

That a deal of wild and purposeless writing has appeared recently on the denunciation of Indian forests, as the *Anglo-Indian* Guardian alleges, will not, we think, admit of any question, but we are, entirely in accord with our contemporary that, after allowing an ample margin for hyperbolas, there remains a substantial balance of truth in the present public feeling on the subject, to invite energetic action on the part of the authorities. On the general and broad principle which deals with the diffusion of moisture by trees, most scientific man are seemingly, in agreement, though there appears to be a want of knowledge, not so much regarding the objects which trees serve generally, but as to the extent to which definitive and localised systems of deforestation have effected given tracts, and whether much system have been necessitated in India, by any special act of circumstances, as well as how far they have influenced the conditions of agriculture in this country. world fuel, to a very large percentage of the population, ranks as a necessary of life and the question is, whether the careful conservation of forests will admit of an undiminished supply, if longer pursues on its present basis of calculation— a theory which, being submitted for consideration, has evoked controversy of so unsatisfactory a character, as to leave practically, just where discussion originally commend. The current of opinion, however, from the best sources, would seem to incline to shape itself into a belief that any system of conserving forests in a manner that would influence the rainfall, and otherwise diffuse the necessary moisture suitably over large areas of country, would probably involve a serious and injurious interferes with the required supplies of fuel. Here issue is joined by, partisans of conflicting theories. This being a subject that calls for very careful calculation and scientific collation of facts— we shall return to it.

22. 8 1878

CINCHONA CULTIVATION IN INDIA

The report' upon Indian progress during the year 1875-76 states that in British Sikkim, after 13 years of expenditure on the cinchona plantations, at first in experiments, the scale began to turn in 1875-76. In that year no addition was made to the permanent plantations, but the main work consisted in gathering a crop of 211,931 lbs. of red bark. This yield was more than five times as great as that of the proceeding year. The cinchonas plantations in the Darjeeling district covered 1,800 acres, and were stocked with about 3000000 trees, of which 2,600,000 are of the *Succirubra* and 350000 of the *Calisaya* species. The Bark of the latter yields chiefly one alkaloid, quinine, the isolation of which can be cheaply accomplished in India ; while, in the case of the *Succirubra* variety, the separation of the quinine from the other alkaloids would cost too much to be profitable. The *Succirubra*, however, contains mixed alkaloids, which, if they could be produced in sufficiently large quantities, would afford a cheap febrifuge for the mass of the people. The present plantations, it is estimated, can in future supply annually about 400 lbs, of *Calisaya*, and 10,000 lbs. of *Succirubra* alkaloids. This quantity, large as it is, would be quite inadequate for general distribution, and the expediency was therefore under consideration of extending the plantations toward the south-east, where the ground presents remarkable advantages as to soil, elevation, and temperature The quantity of dry bark used by the sinologist in manufacture during the year, was 107,[illegible]10 lbs. This veiled only 1,982 lbs. of cinchona febrifuge, but more than one-half of the bark was branch bark, which is always poor in alkaloids. It is estimated that 366,000 lbs. of dry bark would be collected in 1876-77 ; and it is hoped that the febrifuge may be supplied to the public at a cost of less than one rupee per ounce The alkaloid factory was to be transferred to Calcutta, and worked upon a larger scale in either the Presidency or the Alipore jail It will there be more under professional supervision, and have greater advantages in respect of mechanical appliances. In gathering the bark, attention was paid to the important objects of assuring future cultivation and of adding to the practical knowledge of the best methods of harvesting. The practice of uprooting the entire tree was adopted, in order to save the loss of bark which arises from the fact that, after coppicing, a certain proportion of the stools fail it shoot. The root bark thus made available for manufacture was found to contain about eight percent of alkaloids or one percent more than the finest stem bark. The practice of stripping bark from living trees

was not resorted to during the year, as it was found that the removal of bark under moss was rendered impossible in Sikkim by the attacks of ants. It is thought probable that this method of harvesting bark, which is so successful in the Nilgherry plantations, will be entirely abandoned in Sikkim. In Madras, in the Nilgherry plantations, at the close of 1875-76, the total number of chinchona plants was 1199458 about equally divided between the *Succirubra* and *officinalis* species. The harvest of the year amounted to 65,170 lbs. The season was a favourable one for the plantations, though owing, it is believed, to the deficient rainfall, come slight damage was caused weeding and watering was demonstrated by the more vigorous growth of the plants and increased yield of bark. On the other hand, special maturing was not followed by any appreciable effect. The advantage of the mossing over the coppicing process was also established by the experience of this season, as regards both more speedy production and superior quality The objection existing to this process in Sikkim and Ceylon, owing to the attacks of white ants and other insects, does not apply to the Nilgherry plantations.[৬]

22.6.1878

THE BENGAL LAND QUESTION

Another pamphlet on this much-vexed question has made its appearance, but we are sorry to see that it advocates certain view with the same one-sidedness that characterizes a the vast mass of controversial literature on the subject. Although this paper advocates the permanent Settlement being uphold in all its integrity, we cannot help observing that those most deeply ... in its maintenance advance their arguments with more feeling than judgement We are not prepared today to review the pamphlet, to deny the selfish blindness of the Bengal Zemindar,' or in discuss the theory enunciated by the British Indian Association, we simply extract the objections to the proposed new rent law as summarised in the pamphlet :—

Firstly — It is imperfect, for it makes no provisions for the tenants-at-will. *Secondly.* — It is unjust for if His Honour has thought proper to allow, under certain conditions, an enhancement of the rent of the occupancy ryots, His Honour ought to have made some provisions for the reduction of their rents in cases of accidents, such, for instance, as blight, drought, famine, pestilence, and several other occasions when they meet with loss. *Thirdly.*— It wrongly assumes as proved what is yet to be proved, viz., that the productive power of the land are increasing.

Fourthly.— It will operate injuriously upon agriculture, as the status of the occupancy riots will be rendered by it worse, and as most of them will therefore betake themselves to some other more lucrative calling. *Fifthly.*— It is hasty in supporting the principle laid down in 1859, about the enhancement of the rent of the occupancy riots, without inquiring into the fact of its being conductive to the improvement or otherwise of the state of agriculture and that of the agriculturist. *Sixthly.*— It is wrong in classifying the ryots according to their standing, as it thereby arbitrarily takes away the privileges and rights of the riots according to their standing, as it thereby arbitrarily takes away the privileges and rights of the riots who have held at fixed rates since the date to the Permanent Settlement. *Seventhly*— Calculating the rents of the non-occupancy riots at twenty percent of the gross produce, His honour is wrong in making an allowance of from 20 to 60 percent. on those rents in favour of the different classes of occupancy riots according to the length of their tenures. "If the payment," says Babu Parvoti Churn Roy, "of this or any other proportion in its entirety be at once enforced, the consequence will be ruinous to ryots." For, as he points out, they will in "*a great majority of cases, suffer all the evils of rack renting. Their rents will be doubled or trebled, some times quadrupled, which, considering their circumstances, will only increase pauperism.*" As he points out by a quotation from the Statistical Reporter, "the landlord s present share of the gross produce is 1-20th in Dacca and Mymensingh, 1-13th in Backergunge and Jessore, 1-10th in Pooree, 1-9th in Cuttack, 1-5th in Balasore, and 1-10th in Rungpore. If the same proportion say 1-6th or 1-7th—were fixed for all the districts it would work in an unequal manner. The increase would be fifty percent. in Rungpore, one hundred percent. in Backergunge and Jessore, and two hundred percent in Dacca and Mymensingh." *Lastly.*— The proposed rent-law will fall short of its real object, the establishment of good feeling between the riots and the landlords : hence, it should be given up."

22.6.1878

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

If we have not philosophers in India who can extract sunbeams from cucumbers or sermons from stones, we may claim to be blessed with man who, in financial genius, can afford to be contrasted with some of the highest and acutest intellects of a past age. The eminent personage who has just proved to demonstration at home that, two and two make five, or can be persuaded into achieving that feat, would perhaps be surprised to find that India

has her men of science also, who, if need be, can out-Herod-Herod, and out of a union of two and two, produce a numerical result his most sanguine expectations. It has just been discovered that, by a system of *legerdemain* known only to the initiated, and guarded with the inviolability of a Masonic secret, the Indian revenues may be increased five millions annually by redeeming the rights Bengal Zeminders have acquired under the Permanent Settlement which has been the source of all their wealth. Zemindars, it is urged are frittering away the revenue proceeds of the land, are withdrawing capital from it and reducing it to a state of destitution, which must sooner or later tell upon its well being— impoverish it, in fact, to bankruptcy. They are, moreover, only a small, weak body, represented by some 250,000 in a population of over sixty millions, and their weakness is dwelt upon with touching pathos as a strong reason for the financial *coup detat* by which it is suggested their rights should be wrested from them. That the Zemindars of Bengal do enjoy exceptional advantages according from the Permanent Settlement is not to be denied, but there are cogent reasons why they should not only enjoy them in the present, but be permitted unmolestedly to retain them for the future. If we look as far back as 1793 only, we shall have just cause for impartially admitting that, but for the progenitors of the pampered unctuous being who ... himself in purple and fine lines and fares sumptuously daily, poor Bengal might still be a howling waste. It is to the enterprise and capital of his forefathers that the province was indebted for redemption from jungle. Like an agricultural Rachel, the defunct Zemindar reclaimed and beautified the land, and now, all the inheritor of his title wants is that the solemn pledges under which his ancestor entered upon his task shall be maintained in their faith and integrity. The land was settled upon a basis of permanent occupancy rights in favour of the reclaimers and their heirs *for over*. It is now too late to plead inadvertence or ignorance of the rewards likely, any, certain to accrue to the beneficiaries. British honour has been pledged by a solemn, legal, and binding contract, and whatever the consequences, as regards actual or comparative pecuniary losses to the State, it is not meet that the Government should now come forward with a plea of its own short-sightedness for a reversal of benefits it undertook secretly to ratify for all time. Bengal has an area of 189,000 square miles with a population of something over 63,000,000 souls. Her gross rental may be computed at £18,000,000 of which the Government revenue or land tax amounts to £3,663,000 and her local cesses to £560,000 ; that is, she pays Government one-third of the gross rental and in

miscellaneous items—among which, civil litigation holds a prominent place—a good proportion more. If a system be formulated and imposed upon the country, whereby all existing constitutional rights may be swept away for the gratification of a caprice, or the idealisation of a chimera, it would be well that we should be inducted into the principles of arithmetic by which the elasticity of numerals can be discovered to the world under the auspices presumably, of those "trained officers" reserved by the State for important services on great occasions. The dispassionate and gifted financier who thus coldly theorises on the dissolution of inalienable rights, may lay the flattering unction to his soul—supposing him to possess so very awkward and inconvenient an appendage—that, even in the mighty region of Indian imperialism, in which poetry and romance play so conspicuous a part—there are limits that will not admit of being overstepped. Sir John Strachey's* school of finance, in the frigid exercise of its administrative functions, has unconsciously, perhaps, given us an antithetical expression of the limited power of the State in this respect, by its introduction of the Land Acquisition Act, which enables the Government to appropriate whatever land it may happen to fancy for the moment— by the agreeable fiction of declaring it is required for a public purpose—upon almost any term it chooses to offer. Carried to culmination, the Act may absorb zemindary land in detail, and thus acquire the entire area of Bengal for public purposes, since there is practically no limit to its operation. Socialism is the germ of the principle that, in India government is the absolute land proprietor and cultivator—the only licenced Vulcan so to express it, upon whose anvil legislative bolts can be forged—and this on the broad ground of state agrarianism. A contemporary accustomed to mildly pessimist views of things in general, placidly believes that the battle of finances will rage round the cardinal principles which are to govern Indian administration for the future. We are sceptical as to the conservation of principles—if by that is mean rules of equity and rectitude derivable from that very obstructive of human integrity termed conscience. It is a moot point if we shall have any principles— worthy the reputation of a great nation race—left. By the time the rental of Bengal has developed into the full maturity of adding five extra millions to the public treasury, we shall have been improved in arithmetical computation past recognition, and be prepared longer the advent of that Utopian era to submit ourselves to the Gambles of Indian finance with the humble ambition of acquiring a knowledge of multiplying the resources of India by inverse calculation Modern economic thought is, it must be confessed, just now

opposed to the notion of solidifying territorial empire by a uniform system of land tenure acknowledging one on prime authority and attaining to a single landlord, but then, modern thought, whether in the department of economy. The powerful mind of Sir John Stretchy is intended by fate, to fulfil a mission which is to be the logical corollary of provision for India's destitute children. Free trade and individualism may be very well in England, where land tenures are locked into the subtleties of entail, and heirship is distorted into the course of primogenital delusion. We have out lived all that in India. Such exploded fallacies are not for Joseph. India is no longer the land of suttee and the pagoda tree. With improvement in the features of the land, with the abolition of superstitious fads and religious dioramas which checked progress and have in past years overshadowed their national life, the Natives have gradually grown—if not in grace—in cunning, till they are fit to cope with first-class graduates in technical quibbling. The ripeness of age has brought with it the practical experience that has fought all classes of Indians, the value of what, by an incongruous figure of speech, they term their rights, and they know that, by continually working upon the feelings of Government. by threat of appealing to the British Parliament, they can always checkmate legislation, and secure the protective sympathy of members of both Houses Whether these so-called rights are real or imaginary, does not matter much—the British public has been impressed with the strange idea that the Natives of India are being hectored out of something they believe to be their rights, and that suffices for British philanthropy to assert itself. The Native of India has discovered how to reach the heart of British sympathy and to secure powerful advocacy in the House, and it suffices him. The secret is not to cry, but to cry long enough. We have travelled far beyond the region of fixed principles ; and the exploded traditions of honour and good faith are regarded by the new school of thought as mere remnants of a past and imbecile generation. Everything can be obtained by the resolute will of the man who posseses the most staying power. The flnacial catch-cry of "Wolf" will answer, if prolonged enough. Decentralization and retrenchment have run riot together in the financial policy of our Government, till superfluous sheets of foolscap and extra strips of red tape have formal the subjects of stupendous Resolutions. We regret to see the spirit of niggardliness manifesting itself in so very objectionable a form, and that Imperialism, as regards solidification of territory, has taken the shape of that peculiar thirst for acquisition which plainly indicates that money must be made— *honestly, if possible.* To push principles to ultimate issues under the cloak of economy,

and to suggest as a nonunnatural initiatory step that, the revocation of sacred pledges should form the steppingstone to measures of reform having for their object the improvement of the revenues of the Empire— is, however, scarcely the best means of scouring sympathy and support at home or abroad. Our Indian Government has been premature in its anticipation of breaking, without a fierce struggle, a compact that has existed for so many years, to restore peace to Sir John Strachey's mind in the realization of what he caustically represents by the term equllibrium— probably, the dream of his life, and certainly, the Frankenstein of his ripe manhood. Bengal Zemindars have, as a fact and an unmistakably stubborn one— rights in real property—whether Young Bengal has or has not a lien upon the loaves and fishes of State patronage and not all the jugglery of a practised financier can wrest the zemindaries of Bengal from their legitimate owners, without a disgraceful repudiation of a contract confirmed and ratified in the most solemn pledge the British nation could offer—its own reputation for truth and honesty. The finances of India are not what they might be, we allow, but is that any reason we should dishonour ourselves by returing from our obligations to the Natives and to those others, to whom we are bound by every tie of honour, every obligation of conscience. Our system of Indian economy is a farce. Why experiment upon the problem of proving two and two to make five, by trying to impart an elasticity to Indian revenue which it really does not, and cannot be made to, possess. Are not the resources of the Imperial exchequer equal to meet a condition of things in which supply and demand will balance, if only left alone? Absorption and rescission of title and tenure are unlikely to attain any purpose by which one rupees can be attempted to be made to represent the purchasing power of three—and so the Government will discover to its coastline the thimble-rig policy of its Finance Minister. Better sink like Caesar with our mantle drawn gracefully over us, and encounter the risk of a decent burial in the odour of poverty—sanctified by honest effort—than fall in a scheme of spoliation uncongenial to the sense of justice of every one who possesses that commodity. The Government of India means to provide for its own, after a fashion that suits it best. Should it introduce wholesale redemption and invalidate the whole fabric of truth and honour and good faith underlying the Perma-nent Settlement, it will found upon the rule thereof a phoenix-like legislative edifice as a shelter for India's landless gentry, in practical illustration of substituting a stone for bread.

26.7.1879

A COMPARISON

(Continued from the 23th instant.)

That the taste for the teas of Hindustan is extending greatly is shown by the enormous increase in the quantity sent home yearly. I give the quotations of every second year since 1870, this, and estimate of next year :—I may here remark that, the increase in the imports of Chinese and Indian teas respectively, from 1877 to 1882, inclusive, stand, thus : China 4 million pounds. India, 23 ditto, which is, I think. a certain proof that the day will come when the two rivals will assimilate as to quantity, if even the latter does not eventually beat the former in the race for public favour. Apart from the respective in merits of Indian and Chinese teas a few words on another matter, ere I conclude. I allude to the almost universal habit of blending or mixing different teas together, be they Chinese or Indian. Each and every tea has its peculiar flavour : A may like one, B another ; but why mix the two, together so that neither A nor B will relish the mixture? Yet this is far from a true statement of facts. The teas generally sold are the results of perhaps a dozen kinds cunningly bleeded, with a view to sell at any given price with the largest profit. I need scarcely say that, this increase of profit is realised at the expense of the consumer, both in quality and price. The various teas as packed separately by the producer are quite distinct in flavour, and no more resemble each other than, say, the various brands of Rhine wine. What should we say to any two of these being mixed together, and still worse, five or six? The system is a very absurd, nay, a monstrous one, and yet it is a great truth that ninetenths, if not more of the tea sold is made up as above! If the public would learn to insist that, the kind of tea preferred were unmixed with others, they would be astonished to find what far better value they got for their money, how very much more they would enjoy the infusion from their teapots. I will now sum up. I have proved, or tried to prove (and have brought forward many facts in proof of my assertions, which facts, at least, I challenge anyone to deny), that. Indian teas are superior to Chinese, because they are—I. Grown on large estates, the cultivation and manufacture being superintended by educated and skilled Englishmen. 2. Manufactured in a clean way by machinery, as opposed to hand manufacture, which is the reverse of cleanly. 3. Unadulterated. 4. Stronger, thus going further, and in consequence more economical. On this point I have shown that a superior class of plant and a hotter and therefore more suitable climate, necessarily give this superior strength and body to the teas. In conclusion, I say, if Indian tea is the better and the more

economical, why not discard the woeful mixtures offered on all sides ; and at least give it one fair trial to satisfy yourself. Believe me, if you drink Indian tea for one week, you will I know, endorse all I have said in its favour, and drink no other ever after. One word of caution. If you determine to try it, see it is taken out of the original Indian schist. All retail dealers have these.

26 1 1884

TENANCY BILL

It promises to be even more of a hopeless task than we had at first supposed to influence Government in any degree, or to any intelligible posture, in respect to those unaccountable and indignation-engendering acts of insagacity—almost criminal in their absence of forecast—by the Legislature, which have been for two years, more or less, on the anvil, for hammering into some sort of acceptable shape to the country and to its not very critical or exacting populations. Three most notable attempts as legislating for the country of late, have each given rise to complications in some form, which have impeded the action of Government, promoted a spirit of discontent, suggestive of anything but strengthening the hands of our rulers, and have either intentionally, or from gross ignorance and lack of foresight, set parties at strife, against the powers that be. We refer, as may be supposed, to the criminal Jurisdiction, the local self-Government and the Tenancy Bill schemes. In respect to the first two, we have had prolonged discussions in the press and as regards the latter, a controversy is still waging, that may eventuate in results of a most disastrous, possibly, scandalous character. Taking that measure for a brief notice today, we find it overlapped with impediments opposed to the hope of an early and satisfactory adjustment of relations existing between Government and landowners, and land owners and their tenants. To begin with, our system of land revenue collection is unjust in principle, and admittedly defective in detail. It seems to be a principle widely accepted by our ruler that, payment of revenue by landholders must be rigorously exacted, under penalty of forced sale of defaulting estates, no matter under what adversities, or disabilities they may labour—a hard-and-fast rule, provocative of very great chicanery and hardship. True, in one sense, Government can hardly be blamed for demanding and insisting upon being paid its dues ; but it appears to us there is another side to this question, and one it is all important our rulers should hasten to consider, with careful enquiry and calm deliberation ; and our query is, why, taking into account all surrounding circumstances,

landlords should be treated less considerately than ryots ; nay, more, we would even venture to ask, why they should not receive far more indulgence and friendly toleration. Relations between them and our rulers are gradually becoming so strained, so unnatural and distressing, that, it would appear almost as if they had become, by tacit agreement, implacable foes, holding interests so hostile, as to forbid any prospect of conciliation. But no landlord can be the natural and sworn enemy of Government, even though he fully realizes the difficulty of believing that Government is his friend, when his own interests are at conflict with his riots'. This is a broad, perhaps bold statement to advance. Let us see if it be susceptible of proof, and what proof we can command in its support. To establish our position, we must promise that, the State is an exacting landlord, demanding, and not rarely extorting, with relentless exactitude, from Zemindars—the real possessors of the soil—its legal right to a certain revenue derivable from Zemindaree lands—its only lien upon them—and that unpunctuallty or payment renders an estate subject to auction vend, that its sale proceeds may be appropriated in the first instance to recoup Government ; in other words, allowing Government to claim, say, six or eight-hundred rupees for arrears of revenue, an estate worth as many thousands multiplied by twenty, may be put up to sale for those paltry hundreds, sold for what it will fetch, at a possibly packed bidding, and an indisputable conveyance made of it to its purchaser, with such a title as cannot be disputed in law, or be set aside by any known legal process. So that should A, manager to an estate owned by C, collude with B to deprive C of his landed possessions, all he has to do is, by some means to delay payment of Government revenue till after sunset of the last day allowed for deposit. C's estate is then sold, possibly for an amount that may not necessarily be above one twentieth of its value. B, as the highest auction bidder, becomes its new proprietor, Government conveying it to him by a title so absolute, that no law having operation in Her Majesty's Courts of Judicature affecting India, can invalidate, or even challenge its authority. C, the victim of a conspiracy, may by this means be rendered destitute, and upon an appeal to Government, will probably be served with a printed form, in which, it is stated in the unimpassioned language of official reticence that, Government—for reasons that exist neither in the heavens above, nor in the earth below, not in the waters under the earth—finds itself "unable to interfere." Here is no hypothetical case, but one that may occur any day. We do not quote it as a monstrosity, nor do we condemn any want of Secretariat sympathy as a crime. Every landlord is aware of the precarious nature of his

tenure, should he fail to meet the Government instalment quarterly demanded, and he knows that his disinheritance, though it reduce him to penury, will be deemed by the tenderest sentimentalist among kindhearted Collectors, as an act of severe but necessary justice, imperatively called for by the revenue law, to maintain that symmetry between demand and collection, which his margin of realizations must never deform, under penalty of severe suggestions of dire import by the "Board" which will inevitably appear in a early *Gazette* resolution, supported in regretful endorsement by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, who will, doubtless, seize the opportunity of reading the ... Collector a homily on the scientific demands upon his time implied in studying problems in political economy, and will then, very likely, enlarge on the inestimable benefit to the country, at large, derivable from extended tours by district officers ; and he will be told by implication that a district officer is expected theoretically—if not practically—to regard every hamlet within his jurisdiction as an Oriental Auburn, through which he should periodically take his walks abroad and make mental notes of the poor the sees, cogitating deeply and lovingly over the readiest means at hand to convert these into a class financially above the passing rich incumbent on forty pounds a year. He will, in addition, take pleasant rambles amidst picturesque woodland scenery, gathering round him a group of eager village justice, who accept his precepts even as sacred *slokas*, or the proverbs of Solomon, gaining beauty and strength from his emphasis and energy of expression...

While our astute Collector imparts to them the whole duty of man bucolic accentuating that of Zamindars and revenue-paying land incumbents—in a series of moral allegories, didactically formulated in short paragraphic arrangement. But apart from all levity, having seen how remorselessly Government can drive a collector to work up to a certain average, it is really a gratifying discovery to observe some remains of humane impulse still lingering over the lintel of the Board and reflecting a suspicious luminosity on Belividere. Landlord, though dealt with according to that terrible prescription of law, that recommends dispossessing any person of his coat who willingly concedes his cloak, are merely signal be consindicating the shoals and quicksands dangerous to the navigation of big and deep-draughted vessels, but over which smaller craft can glide with perfect freedom from peril, illustrative in this respect how, by a merciful principle of compensation, revenue law will sooner permit ninety-and-nine guilty riots to escape, than suffer one defaulter in *khas* lands to incur any penalty whatever, while the converse holds good in all Zemindaree

lands without exception. And this system of humanity has been charmingly demonstrated of late by some editors of the *Calcutta Gazette* — who usually fill the supplement to that invaluable publication— a copy of which everybody may have by subscribing for it, since it is supplied on that most Christian and generous plan, that recognizes, in every offical literary contributor, a labourer worthy of his hire—with a melodramatic pathos quite touching in its simplicity, while incidentally graceful and impressive. Turning to the pages of this admirable chronicler, we find that in *khas* lands, the poor, ignorant riot, whose unsophisticalted innocence scarcely rises to the level of a positive conviction that sixteen annas are the equivalent of a rupee, is treated with a tenderness which, if less than paternal, is rather more than comic. Let us, step by step, take into view the part played by Government towards some riots—whom we need not designate by the harsh term defaulters, but those— whose payments have been deferred. We read in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 31st October last, that the Board considers it gratifying that much progress has been made in removing the difficuties that have been the management of certain estates in the Burdwan division, and it goes on to observe that, "the enormous arrears which had accrued, have now been reduced to, comparatively speaking, moderate dimensions, and as the unwillingness of the riots to pay was not so much founded upon high rates of assessment, as upon objections to the measurement and classification of soils fixed by the settlement officer, it may be hoped that the final restoration of order and confidence, of which there are at last many signs, may not be so long delayed as the Board anticipate.' So then, we learn that the bucolic mind, notwithstanding its opportunities of tutorial advantage, seems bent upon resisting rent claims, even when these are demanded with all the pomp and circumstance attending such occasions. Government officials make a demand, backed, of course, by authority acquired, or assumed for the hence, to enforce it, and the law within easy access to help, still arrears are *enormous*. From subordinate to gradational superior—up to a Commissioner, all the district powers are helpless—in the presence of riot hindrance—to prevent arrears accumulating enormously and yet, without one of these aids to pay, a Zemindar is supposed to be ready with his revenue to the hour, under penalty of seeing his ancestral estate sold by a relentless creditor, which in his case, Government decidedly is, although it can afford to allow its revenue in *khas* estates to remain unpaid till arreas become "enormous." We learn in short, several facts from the *Gazette* before us. First, that there are difficulties of management: then, that ryots have been unwilling

to pay rent ; next, that order and confidence have been distrubed ; despite the powerful machinery at work to induce, may even to insist upon, punctuality of payment! Upon what grounds then. to be consistent, can a Collector be so hard upon Zemindars, who, hampered to a far greater extent, are unable to come to time with their *lat Khajana?* When it is remembered that a Zemindar dare hardly request the attendance of a assamee at his cutchery, without incurring a suspicion, if not a absolute charge of, false imprisonment ; that he may not venture to remind a defaulter that his only alternative will be to bring a suit for recovery of rent, without some danger of a complaint of criminal intimidation being lodged against him ; that he can scarcely ask to be shown a pattah without a risk that his act may be contorted into one of criminal force ; that he is beset with all sorts of mantraps and pitfalls, and that were he to do or say anything that the law might take cognizance of as a breach, he could hardly escape its severest penalty ; it seems astonishing that Government should, inferentially, credit him with greater power than itself possesses, and as a forfiet for not exercising it rigorously, is ready to deprive him of his ancestral property, and to cast him forth homeless, perhaps destitute, to cherish a prospect of retaliation should one ever arise.

26 1.1884

JUTE, PAST AND PRESENT

As there is a considerable dull in jute imports, the present seems a good opportunity for reviewing the past season, and placing before mill owners in Calcutta and Dundee, the actual state of matters, in so far as this district is concerned We have been at much trouble to obtain our facts, leaving no reliable source of information untouched. Before last season began, the very unprofitable condition of our manufacturing trade caused every one to raise a cry that prices must fall, and it was expected that the range of prices would be similar to that which ruled in 1882. Everything seemed to favour this idea. Stocks at home, though not large, were sufficient. The coming crop, although short in this district was good and large in others. Against this had to be placed the pecuniary independence of growers and short stocks held by mills. Our season here was opened by our two largest local balers selling direct to Calcutta mills thirty thousand bales at rates which looked profitable, but eventually proved losing to sellers This is a trade they had never tried before, and their present experience is unlikely to encourage them to continue it. The crop was very late ; stocks at home became low, and jute was actually exported from

Dundee to the Continent. Calcutta mills had exhausted their stock also, hence when new Dowrah came forward, there was a run on it. prices opened high, and were maintained. Imports here began dribbling in, and were taken up by commission buyers for Calcutta mills. Local balers held off for a long while. But inland carrying companies having made comming at very low rate, about fifteen percent. only of their former scales ; shippers in Chittagong had no pull over shippers to Calcutta, so prices kept up and shipping engagements had to be completed, and all had to go into the market before prices could be reduced. Very probably, a strong combination amongst byuers might have brought prices down eight annas, but this was not done, and from the beginning of the season, straight on, till last week, this market has been fed by Natives, at steadily-advancing prices, and values, instead of ranging like those of 1882, have ranged in this market twelve annas to one rupee above, say, thirty to forty percent.—and in Calcutta about twenty to twenty-five percent., the difference being covered by the more favourable freight obtainable this season. Last week, a stand was made and prices were reduced two to three annas, but this reduction is quite met by the lower quality of imports. The crop of this district was estimated to be twenty-five percent. less than that of last year, or a total of say, nine hundred thousand bales. There is no reason to alter this estimate, and of it, six hundred thousand bales will have come forward by the 31st of this month, ... three hundred thousand to come forward ; and, from all we learn, other districts have even a larger balance ; so there is no need for any fear of scarcity. At present, imports are small, owing to all classes of peasants and cultivators being engaged at the rice harvest and winter crops. again, growers, in the face of a great cry for low prices, have got rid of two-thirds of their crop at steadily advancing rates ; and they say plainly—"we don't want money, and we will not sell our jute, except at our own valuations ;" and thus it will remain till the prospects of next crop begin to affect their minds. Good sowing weather in March and April, means a very large sowing for next season, but drought or excessive rain during these months will curtail sowings, more especially, in a year like this, when the price of rice is likely to rule high. Shipments via Chittagong are much less this season ; and we doubt this decrease will total up one hundred thousand bales by the end of the season ; Calcutta mills having done comparatively little in our local market this season, which has been remarkable for a large demand by Native balers for small imports and the large quantity bought in the interior. This buying in small markets has been inaugurated and fostered by large local balers, and there is not the slightest doubt it

has tended to keep prices up, and there is just as little doubt that they are working against their own interests in doing so. For now, large and wealthy Native balers are competing for the Dundee trade in Naraingunge. Jute we shall have them buying at every little market, and by the power they have over their staff, which no European can have, they will buy ten percent. Cheaper than a European. It therefore beloves local European balers to consider their action for next season.

12.12 1885

INDIGO AND SILK

In rural portions of the Presidency division, we find that, the principal manufactures are indigo, silk, and sugar. In Nuddea and Jessore, there are 76 indigo factories, of which 14 are managed by Europeans, and 62 by Natives. Moorshedabad also contains Indigo factories, but their number is not given. Not very many years ago, this district produced indigo in fairly large quantities and of excellent quality. Last year was not favourable to Indigo in Nuddea, but in Moorshedabad it was better than in 1883-84. Of late years, as our readers know, Bengal has fallen of Greatly in her production of this staple.

3.2.1886

NOTHING LIKE LEATHER

One of this division's (Dacca) chief industries and a remunerative source of income is that of hides. This industry has been so long established in this Province that its origin is lost in obscurity. Chamars claim as their common ancestor, one Rui Das, or Luidhas or Ravi Das, reported to have lived in the fourteenth century. Various legends are extent stating how this industry originated. In Bankhura, we learn from a Government report, that Luidhas was required to supply the divine being with shoes, permission being given him to take off sufficent skin from a living animal for this purpose, plastering over the skinless part with cowdung, which caused it to be covered with new skin and heal. Actuated by avarice, on one occasion, Luidas took off more skin than was needed, and in consequence, no healing process followed the usual mode of treatment. Upon this, the injured animal complained to the god, which cursed Luidas, saying :—

"Your descendants sh all have toearn their livelihood by working in hides and skins of *dead* animals. Henceforth the people will learn the use of articles prepared from hides and skins, and your descendants shall supply mankind with these articles, and shall have to treat the raw hides with lime, Amla leaves and barks of the Asan tree, before they can manufacture shoes, etc, out of them. Thus your progeny shall have to follow an abominable profession, and shall occupy a very low position in human society."

Luidas pleaded for forgiveness and obtained it. The god told him that he would be worshipped by her descendants and that Brahmin priests would assist at the ceremonial. He is worshipped to this day Leather articles are mentioned in history still more ancient than the *Ramayana*, and were probably in use in India nearly five thousand years ago. In Mymensingh, however, it appears that, about fifty years ago, one Bodhi Nuchar came form Shahabad with shoes, for which he found such a ready sale, that he started manufacture and working in leather. Statistics show that foreign competition injuriously affects indigenous industry, loss to which, in this instance, roughly calculated, may be estimated at fifty to sixty percent. Principal contres of this industry in Bengal, are Calcutta and its suburbs, Patna, Dinajpur, Darbhanga, Dacca, Cuttack, Monghyr, and Hazaribagh. Tanneries are cenfined to Calcutta and its suburba, where there are seventeen, seven being owned by Europeans and ten by natives. Many ingredients used for tanning are to be found in this country, as many as sixty being procurable from our Indian jungles at little, of any, cost. A minute and interesting account, accompained by welldrawn illustrations, is given in this report of various processes of tanning, which, when practised according to indigenous methods, is often tedious and crude. Tanning extracts are, we read, generally of a very inferior kind, as they are prepared carelessly. Green materials are obtained often in a most careless way. Bark, for instance, is removed by beating it with mallets or sticks, with a result that much of its tannic juice is lost. It ought to be removed by means of some peeling instrument. At present, no distinction is made between full grown tress and mere saplings. bark of full grown tress of course yields a larger quantity of tannin, and care should be taken to use bark from full-grown trees only. Then, again, bark is stripped from trees at all seasons, whereas it should be taken when it is most juicy, and for this purpose it should be removed only in that seem when sap is upon the trees. Stronger and quick acting tanning ingredients which can be had in abundance in this country, should be chosen, and foreign materials of known efficacy

should be tried. Although occupying an exceedingly low place in native society and too often living on the brink of stravation. Chamars and Muchis are evidently averse to Malthusian doctrines, as, taking both these classes together, statistics of last census operations show an increase in their number, of over six percent in 1891, compared to 1881, and in 1901, compared to 1901, of eight percent. Number of persons at present engaged in various branches of our leather industry are. Leather dyers 141 ; Shoe, boot and sandal makers, 153,432 ; Taners and curriers, 22,323 ; Water bag, well-bag, bucket and ghee-pot makers, 657 ; ... Reducing cost of manufacturing articles and time now spent on them. We have for years, advocated improvement on native modes of cattle-breeding. Better breeds of cattle would be useful when living and their hides would not only fetch higher prices than at present prevail, but would naturally produce better leather than is now procurable from wretched, stunted specimens. Another *sine qua non* is skilled workers. Government, in its endeavours to revive a languishing industry, has just sanctioned a scheme for improvement of technical and industrial education in this country. Ten annual scholarships have now been founded for training Indian youths in technical and industrial arts in Europe and America. Our writer considers his monograph would be incomplete without a reference to a new process, of manufacturing leather, viz., the chrome process and quotes remarks by Mr. C T. Davis, in his "Manufacture of Leather." "Chrome leather has special and peculiar qualities, which distinguish it from all other kinds of leather, and these special features cause it to be a superior fabric for all purposes for which leather is used. It has often been stated that chrome leather is water-proof, but this is not a proper term to use in connection with it ; it should more properly be called non-absorbent. All kinds of leather produced with tannin, absorb water readily, like a sponge, while chrome leather does not absorb water, but resists it, or sheds it, like the feathers of a duck. In fact, it is a difficult matter to wet chrome leather thoroughly when it is once dry. Again, water and air are agencies in nature which promote decomposition and decay ; and as tannin and hide substances are both organic materials, when combined, as in bark-tanned leather, and subjected to the process of wetting and drying, such leather will eventually, but surely, deteriorate and become rotten. Chrome leather. on the other hand, being a combination of an inorganic material, with the hide substance, when subjected to a similar process of wetting and drying, shows no effect whatever. In fact, chrome leather becomes softer and more flexible with each time it is wet and dried. Even subjecting it to boiling water apparently has

no effect upon it, whilst any sort of leather produced with tannin and placed in boiling water is utterly destroyed. Moreover, chrome leather is of much lighter weight than bark leather and this is a decided advantage for almost all purposes for which leather is used." Mr. Talati, a Parsi gentleman. proprietor of Minocher Leather Works in Bombay, learnt this process in America, some years ago, and, on his return to India, made experiments with it in his factory, and found it suitable to this country. Our old process of bark tanning takes a month at least, to tan a goat skin, whereas, chrome process requires only a day. Cowhide. calf-skins, and sheep-skins can all be chromed like goat-skins. It is to be hoped that native factories will realise how important prompt action is, and lose no time in adopting this new and greatly-improved process.

21 5.1904

দেশীয়দের প্রতি দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী

[দেশীয়দের ইংরেজি সংবাদপত্র কখনও সহানুভূতির সঙ্গে বিবেচনা করেনি। ভারত বিজিত দেশ এবং এর নাগরিকবা শিল্প-সংস্কৃতি সবকিছুতে পাশ্চাত্যের অধস্তন-- এ দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীর সঙ্গে যুক্ত ছিল শ্রেণী এবং অর্থনৈতিক স্বার্থ। বাংলা সংবাদপত্রগুলির প্রতিও তাদের দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী ছিল একই রকম। সিভিলিয়ানদের অনেকে হয়ত সহানুভূতির সঙ্গে বিবেচনা করতেন দেশীয়দের, তাব কারণ, তারা প্রভাবিত ছিলেন উপযোগবাদে।

দেশীয়দের প্রতি *বেঙ্গল টাইমস*-র দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী ছিল অত্যন্ত অনুদার; সমসাময়িক অন্যান্য ইংরেজ পত্রিকাগুলিতেও বোধহয় প্রতিসংখ্যায় দেশীয়দের প্রতি এ ধরনের আক্রমণ পরিচালিত হতো না। বিশেষ করে ইলবার্ট বিল আন্দোলনের সময় এর চরিত্র সরাসরি নগ্ন হয়ে পড়ে। কুৎসিত ভাষায় দেশীয় ও দেশীয় সংবাদপত্রগুলিকে আক্রমণ করতে থাকে *বেঙ্গল টাইমস*। একটি উদাহরণ উদ্ধৃত কবছি। ইলবার্ট বিল-এব পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে পত্রিকাটি মন্তব্য করেছিলো —

> "... by which it is sought to place the honour and liberty of English ladies at the mercy of men whose national estimate of honour is not in consistent with lying, perjury, polygamy, and idolatrous rites, among which may be enumerated drunken revelry language so vile ...

অমৃতবাজার পত্রিকায় যেহেতু নীলকর, চা-কর এবং একদেশদর্শী প্রশাসকদের বিরুদ্ধে প্রায়ই মন্তব্য করা হতো সেহেতু *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* মন্তব্য করেছিলো, ঐ পত্রিকাটি যে ধরনের আচরণ করছে, অন্য কোন বিজিত দেশে কি কোন শাসক তা সহ্য করতো? পত্রিকা স্পষ্টভাবে মন্তব্য করেছিলো "We do not like the inferior classes of any nation." আবদুল লতিফের সংবর্ধনা অনুষ্ঠানের বর্ণনা করতে গিয়ে *বেঙ্গল টাইমস*-লিখেছিল, তিনি স্যার হ্যালিডের খানসামা ছিলেন। 'নেটিভ' মানেই ছিল ".. is a thief by inclination and a liar by habit". আর সমতা? জোরালো ভাষায় লিখেছিলো *বেঙ্গল টাইমস*- "... equality, never".

মাঝে মাঝে দেশীয়দের আবার *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* দু'ভাগে ভাগ করে নিতো। হিন্দু ও মুসলমান। হিন্দুদের প্রতি কখনও সদয় ছিল না পত্রিকা কর্তৃপক্ষ কারণ স্বার্থগত কারণে হিন্দুদের সঙ্গেই দ্বন্দ্ব ছিল বেশি। মুসলমানরা প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী ছিল না। ফলে, তাদের সম্পর্কে মাঝে মাঝে সদয় মন্তব্য করা হতো, উদাহরণ, সংকলিত রচনা 'মহামেডান প্রসপেকটাস'। এ

মনোভঙ্গি'র আরেকটি উদাহরণ—'ম্যানলিয়ার অর উইম্যানলিয়ার'—"...slaves of their Mahomedan conquerers, and trampled underfoot by them, they were a meek, submissive people, little better in physique—and most certainly not equal to the cultivated women of any land, in purity of character, or elevation of thought ..."

সংকলিত বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে মন্তব্যগুলি দেশীয়দের প্রতি সাধারণ ইংরেজদের মনোভঙ্গী বুঝতে সহায়ক হবে।]

সংকলন

NATIVE PREJUDICE

Why the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales to the dwelling of Baboo Juggadanund Mookerjee, to be interviewed by the ladies of the family and sunday feminine guests invited to participate in the privilege of gazing upon Royalty, should have given offence to the Native community generally, seems to be a puzzle to our contemporaries.[b] The Brahmo idea is that Baboo Juggadanund showed an example of enlightement most creditable to his country, and an English contemporary endorsing that opinion, remarks that the expression of dissatisfaction by the Natives shows how very little light England has yet succeeded in kindling "even in the outworks of Native Society," and how "sudden and total would be the darkness if they withdrew the flame " While unable to follow the florid rapture of metaphor in which the writer regales, we may take for granted that, the "outworks of Native society"—whatever that terrible phraseology may convey—have very little to do with the matter. The fact, as related to us in, that the ladies of the Mookerjea household addressed the Prince in a memorial praying for an interview. According to their religion, they urged, it is a duty to pay obeisance to Royalty wheresoever encountered in the person of a representative of the dominant sovereign, and as their social costoms would not admit of their quitting the zenana, they humbly solicited an opportunity of being permitted the pleasant duty of feasting their eyes upon the son of their Empress. His Royal Highness having graciously acceded to the prayer, was duly interviewed by the memorialists, and the circumstance is quoted to their reproach either as a violation of the sanctity of the zenana, or as a deliberate fraud practised upon the heir to the throne of Great Britain, orthodox Hindoos say the Prince could not have seen Native Ladies, because social etiquette forbids their appearance at the homes of even their own sons in-law, and consequently, that the illustrious visitor was entrapped into a snare which conferred honour on his host while it covered his guest with confusion. We cannot think any artifice was practised on the occasion, but whe-

ther or not the Royal eyes were gratified by beholding *bona fide* Native ladies, or ladies of foreign nationality, matters very little, though the moral to be learnt from the sweeping condemnation of the Vernacular press and the Baboo's apologists, is striking[৯]. As the leading journal of the Presidency, the *Englishman*[১০] deals with the question in a spirit with which we are unable to agree, as it applies to this special case. It is our contemporary's opinion, that the enlightened Baboo "ventured to raise for a few moments, the veil which barbarism has cast over the faces of India's daughters," and he should therefore rather be commended that condemned. We are not quite so sure about the barbarism. The habit of including Hindoo ladies, and especially the well-favoured, had its origin in a licentious period, when a conquered and down trodden people trembled at the prospect of having their homesteads invaded and their females brutally ill used ; when every pretty face among the families of the vanquished was considered legitimate game for the ambition of ruffianism and maidens, young and tenderly-nurtured, modest and beautiful, were born from the paternal roof and bartered to wealthy debauches in exchange for place or gold The system grew into a recognized principle of protection, and has since held its place as an institution of the country. Where any sanction is to be found in the Shastras—or where it is enjoined in any well-authenticated code of ancient Hindoo law, moral, civil, or religious, are points we must leave for solution to the Pundits of Sanskrit lore. The same points may be raised as regards the obligation to do honour to Royalty. If the rule be imperatively laid down in the Hindoo religion, it strikes us as singular that the ladies of the Mookerjee family alone, should have remembered it and have sought to comply with its injunctions. In the preparations for the Prince's reception that occupied all India for months, surely so very important a duty would not have been overlooked, and that too in places where religious observances are enforced with greater rigidity than in Calcutta. The idea of soliciting an interview seems not to have occurred to Hindoo ladies, either before or since the Prince's visit to Calcutta ; and it is remarkable that, his brother should have visited this city without receiving a similar application, though himself a member of the Royal Family of Great Britain. That besides questioning whether Hindoo Scripture gives any authority for the strange prayer of the Mookerjee ladies, and without waiting to challenge the propriety of any such request or the loss of princely dignity in its acceptance, we doubt whether mookerjee Baboo can be upheld in his determination to lift the sacred veil of the zenana. The Baboo is not

of sufficiently elevated social position to expect a visit from Royalty. He is only the Junior Government Pleader, and as such cannot claim the slightest pretension to the honour conferred upon him ; nor is he a man of such pronounced enlightenment as to make his reception of the Prince an evidence of a desire to cast adrift the tyrannical conservatism of habit which cruelly immunes beauty and intelligence in domestic prisons. He has never exhibited his ladies before, why should he do so now. He has never taken a prominent part in the amelioration of the condition of Native females—whence how long back does he date his conversion to the new school of thought rising up around him. The truth is the Baboo has for years past endeavoured to utilize every iota of influence he possesses for a seat on the High Court Bench, and failing in all his endeavours, has thought to make a hit by enlisting the sympathy of the Prince and the popularity of a capricious public. That the means he has adopted will fail him may be taken for granted. His knowledge of English is limited, and we believe it has retarded his prospects materially. Possibly the ladies of his family will accomplish what has hitherto been clearly proved to be beyond the reach of his ambition. Should he succeed in mounting the Bench, we predict in spite of all his deficiencies, that his written judgments will disclose a knowledge of English idioms, his most intimate friends never before even remotely, suspected him to possess.

22 1 1876

IS THE BALL-ROOM THE PLACE FOR NATIVES!

(Communicated.)

The question as to whether Native gentlemen should be admitted to balls where English ladies and gentlemen are given to indulge in dancing, is being discussed by several of our contemporaries. One thinks it a great hardship that Native gentlemen should be, as they have been lately excluded ; another that Native gentlemen ought not to wish to be present, seeing that this European custom is contrary to all their own notions of decorum. It is true that, to the eyes of Native gentlemen, the spectacle of high-born English ladies and gentlemen dancing together, must be an astonished and a perplexing one . As Englishmen, however, being accustoming from childhood to thin European custom, we see nothing undignified or strange in it. We are not of those who set their faces against dancing as "worldly," "sinful" "inconsistent" with the character of a pious Christian." We think it a harmless amusement, quite innocent and at least, amongst all well-bred people without any tende-

ncy to immorality. People must have some occupation in their social gatherings and by the common consent of all the European civilized peoples, there is nothing so universally popular, nothing which interests young and the middle-aged, if not the old, so fully ; nothing which gives any similar *life* and pleasurable excitement, nothing which so readily breaks down the barriers of formality amongst guests, strangers to one another, as dancing. At the same time, we hesitate not to state our agreement with a writer in one of the late home papers, as to the absurdity of the appearance of some of our modern dances to a dispassionate observer. Our waltzes without doubt, when as is generally the case, they are badly danced, are ridiculous enough. To see some six-foot warior in a shell jacket inclining at an angle of about two degrees over some diminutive lady and moving round as if his legs were a pair of compasses, is not a pleasant sight except to the cynical. It may be, as this writer observed, that it would be better if we returned to the more stately dances of a previous age, such as the minuet. Be this as it may, (and without doubt, the suggestion will find no favour with the majority of dances, either male or female, who almost universally vote all square dances a *bore*) the single fact remains that, by the common consent of the most civilised and best educated of European, dancing is the most popular and pleasant of all the amusements of society. We need not seek further for a reason for accepting the custom as a harmless and innocent one. It does not remain an open question for our Native friends to discuss. They have their peculiar customs, we have ours. We endeavour to respect the Native customs and we may fairly expect to find Native gentlemen ready to respect ours As our customs in this respect are utterly at variance with Native ideas, it surely seems best that Native gentlemen should be spared the infliction of witnessing what puzzles them and what they cannot possible appreciate or approve. When therefore English gentlemen and ladies in India propose to amuse themselves after their home customs, the quest and most polite thing to be done is not to invite any Native gentlemen. There is no slight in this omission, any more than there is no slight to English gentlemen being omitted from the domesticities which may take place behind the purdah. If, in course of time, Native gentlemen should be induced to break through the strong and time-honoured prejudices which now bind them to their peculiar social customs, it may reasonably be expected that the aesthetics of the ball-room will be included in those reforming adoptions which will begin to mark a new era in the history. Native enlightenment, but it seems that the time is yet distant and the strides in the tendency of Native thought too

insignificant to hold out any immediate hope of such a reformation as will identify the social license allowable by our code with anything of a similar nature sanctioned in Hindoo society. The difficulty rests in the fact that a Hindoo is governed in all his thoughts and feelings by the religious prescriptions of his Scriptures. Caste and all its traditional restrictions are simply the outcome of a severe code of morality which, in its very inception, aims simply at furnishing a statute to protect the religious devotee from contamination with the outside world. It never sought to impose the absurd obligations that social customs aided by moral decadence have gradually introduced, until the leaven of mummery has pervaded the whole fabric of Hindoo society, tinctured as that may be, by the tone of religious thought superinduced effects of modern education. It is not fair to suppose that our mode of dancing would find favour in Native eyes as a social recreation and it should not be forgotten that there are thousands and tens of thousands of our own countrymen and country women who persistently set their faces against round dances and not by any means on weak or frivolous grounds either. If we do not agree with them we must at least admit that their arguments are far from puerile. What opinion divided in our very centres of enlightened thought, how can we expect unanimity of sentiment among Natives on a question of European habit into the merits of which they can hardly enter except with prejudiced feeling.

9 2.1876

EQUALITY

Sooner or later, the question of political and social equality between Englishmen and Natives, must reach a point of culmination pregnant with very serious issues to both races. The hope of equality between two peoples having scarely a thought or feeling in common, whose national sympathies are divided by depressing episodes . . —can at best be very faint and its realization exceedingly remote ; nevertheless, there are sanguine people who will nor have their expectations impeded by the ordinary phenomenas of nature, nor will they be induced to believe that, the common impulses of human passion will refuse to beat responsive to the caprices by which their own erratic fancy is beguiled ; they insist upon maintaining that the recoil of Hindoo Aryanism upon occidental civilization will inevitably effect a fusion between East and West, and that when that happy transformation sets in, the Sahib and the Baboo—like the wolf and the lamb—will lie down side by side peacefully. To such people, who measure the gravity of an

obstruction by the standard of their own untiring energy and innate strength of will, and regard difficulties ouly in comparison with the sufficiency of efforts directed to their removal, we cannot help yielding a share of admiration. We are struck by the boldness and originality of their conceptions and we are powerless to resist a certain fascination of confidence with which these social crusaders seem to invest all their plans. "Madame," replied a gallant French nobleman—"You have but to speak If what you ask be practicable, consider it done ; if *impracticable, it shall be done.*" The amiable persons whom we have of late years watched as the professing regenerators of India, are among the happy beings whose dictionary contains no such word as failure, since they can anticipate nothing but success in whatsoever they undertake. Such natures are to be respected for their sanguine proclivities, their deeply-rooted faith in the omnipotence of human effort intelligently inspired, even if they are often pitied for the extravagance of their anticipations. Who can fancy a Mary Carpenter dreading that the social regeneration of India could not be compassed in a flying visit, or Justice Phear losing heart at amalgamating the Europeans and Natives from the fact that Mr. John Bull indignantly repudiated an offer of marriage for his daughter from Baboo Ram Sunker Doss. Taking the fusion of the two races on the basis of national sympathy and a community of interests, we shall find ourselves as far away from any likelihood of drawing them together in the bonds of fellowship, as if they belonged to the class of chemical bodies that defy amalgamation. They are utterly wanting in that spontaneous mutual attraction upon which indissoluble friendships are built, upon which life-long amities are fostered into permanent development, and which often lead to a conservation of intellect and a conflict of thought from which luminous sparks are struck for the worlds enlightenment. If then, we admit the posibility of such close affinities between Natives and Europeans as would unite them like brethern, would concentrate talent and evolve thought for the elevation of their mutual moral being, we must, as a first concession, presume the nationality of the one or the other utterly and irrecoverably destroyed. The class of thought that admits of communion and amalgamation must arise from some basis of interest common to both thinkers ; there must be lights and shades of reflection in agreement, and a fascination about the entire mental fabric mutually attractive. Now what bond of sympathy can an Englishman cherish with the sleek half-dreamy creature who dozes life away at an office desk or who passes through the world propped up by bolsters upon a wooden platform, sucking the hookah from daylight to midnight with but less

thought to cheer him, one ambition to live for—the accumulation of wealth. From the schoolboy to the octogenarian there is not one phase in the career of an ordinary Native that has the very least charm for an English mind, either in the way of approval or imitation ; there is not a moral fibre in his composition that can yet good-humoured optimists tell us that, the distinctions between black and white are rapidly disappearing and will soon be merged in that spirit of universal brotherhood that is eradicating national prejudice and rivalry from the human family. Were we disposal to enlarge upon, this topic, we might show that, from earliest boyhood, the training of the Native and the European are so dissimilar in their respective birth places, that any attempt to bring about a community of thought between them would, from the very nature of things, prove failure, but we fear to extend this article beyond the ordinary limits of newspaper criticism. We may, however, without fear of overtaxing our readers patience touch cursorily upon one at least of the many insurmountable obstacles that forbid the hope of race *equality* between Native and European. When our Native friends begin to preach socially upon the rights, we, as a nation, have wrested from them, they appear to less sight of the vital principle upon which the laws of conquest are based. A nation vanquished in war, by merely paying a subsidy and entering upon a treaty, retains all her political rights and privileges intact, in relation to her status in the scale of nations ; but a people whose country is overrun with victorious fanatics, who have trampled all semblances of distinct nationality out of the original possessors of the soil—have defaced their Lares and Penates, have twisted their political entity out of all possible recognition—can hardly be said, on their possessions passing for the second time into strange hands, to retain anything like a claim upon the new conquerors for equal rights, national, social, or administrative. It is just this pretension to equality that irritates the Englishman, whose only test of Hindoo character and principle is derived from daily intercourse with people who certainly do not give him a very exalted notion of their morality. He feels that he has not an idea in sympathy with the men into whose society he is daily thrown, and, judging from what comes to his knowledge in matters that the delicate standard of English honour would regard in a totally different aspect to any estimate that the Bengalee would form of them, it is impossible he can regard the Natives of this country as fashioned after his ideal of moral purity. He hears the tiny Exeter Hall imitators at public gatherings expatiate on the fast growing interests that are drawing the two nations into closer bonds of union daily, he listens to the Baboo, who, while he estimates the

typical Englishman as a loafing adventurer, launches forth in the choicest China Bazar English on the virtues and exemplary efforts of Mr. So-and-So, who has devoted the best years of his Indian career to promoting friendly relations among all classes of Her Majesty's subjects and is known far and wide as a friend to the Native. He sees moreover brave educated and well intelligent, meaning women like Miss Carpenter travelling thousands of miles from home and kindered, led a way by the colourless revelations of too sanguine and unwisely zealous missionaries, women who mistake the passionate vitality of their own exorbitant wishes for the deep-rooted facts that practical experience has eliminated from the vague generalities and humanitarian platitudes that encumber the minds of public speakers upon India and her people, and he feels it all to be a trick of the fancy. There is no equality between the races ; there never can be anything beyond a very clumsily veiled toleration ; but of what use is it to .. of such things to people who have set their hearts upon seeing the world as they wish it to be seen while they are prepared to hate you for the love of God, if, perchance, by reason of moral obliquity, you fail to see the disappearance of all distinction between the white man and the black? Equality? The realization is simply impossible among people who have grown up in different faiths, whose doctrines of moral and religious life run in counter-currents, whose antipathies are the result of a large and increasing acquaintance with each others' modes of thought and habits of life—to such the very notion is incongruous. We may admit that a native child, whose thoughts have not crystallized into form, whose mind is a blank, whose habits are unconfirmed, if cast among five hundred English boys at a public school would, in time, develop into a different specimen of Baboodom than the ordinary ruck to be seen in our Indian cities, whose faith is the religion of appearances, who count deception as the indispensable condition of pleasant companionship, and lies as the current coin of good society, but then it would need a lifelong training—starting from extreme juvenility—to effect the required change and then we are doubtful if it would be complete. We would trust more to this kind or association than to any other to denationalise the Baboo and to assimilate him to our own models ; and if we succeeded, we might, in the second or third generation, begin to regard him with feelings of greater complacency, but the equality which Indian philanthropists brag publicly about having generated in this country, exists only in their disordered fancies and is never likely to shape itself into anything more substantial. An English public school world regenerate the Bengalee, but he must be put there young. Youth is unconsciously

plastic because unconsciously imitative, but as years harden the frame, experience peoples the imagination, and friction with the world matures the mind, the impressions which might once have charmed lose their fascination and if they arrest a truant fancy, the effect is but ephemeral and soon eradicated by the stern lessons one is taught in a hand-to-hand encounter with life's struggles. We may triumph over the minor difficulties of the world unaided, but when we attempt conclusions with the influence of daily-recurring example, we can easily predict how the contest will end. The sight of a good man struggling with difficulties is one for the gods to admire, but the writhings of conscience that have to be undergone by the man who insists upon regarding facts without the medium of his friends philanthropic magnifying binoculars, is perhaps out of the most painful and distressing spectacles to be anywhere witnessed. It is precisely the case of the man, who, in the India of to-day, refuses to lend himself to the most gigantic and vicious sham of this or any other age Men, like poets, must be born equal, since Nature, with all her resources cannot confer equality where its presence would be anomalous.

12 8 1876

NATIVE HYSTERICS

Just as creaking doors last long, well abused men thrive. Two small gladiators, with their tiny weapons, the .. of a bird noted for wisdom, have rushed at Mr. Pellew, our Commissioner, with a literary energy and a power of criticism of which Mr Pellew seems to be sadly unconscious. His enemies have not written a book upon his demerits, but have done the next best thing to it—have assailed him virulently with invective in a tone that would be sarcastic if they know how. If Mr. Pellew could only realise the peril of his position, we might have hopes of him, but when a man is bent upon going blindfold, in the world of Mr. Mantilini, . --who is to save him? We do not know what Mr. Pellew has done or left undone, beyond having excited the ire of two the other on, as it were, and almost taunts the Native press generally with their quiessues. Slightly modified their position would appear to be something like this expresses :

What, you editors are still?
We see, they cried, our columns shake.
Now gallants, for Baboodom's sake.
Upon him with, the quill.

In an evil hour, Mr. Pellew has declined in state that a famine is, where a famine is not—... Had Mr. Pellew incited Mr. Price to drawup a harrowing picture of lame beggars starving upon the the insufficient diet of two ample meals per diem ; ... and able-bodied vagabonds tramping the country in the assumed character of *Fucheers*, working systeinstically upon the compassionate feelings, of male and female villagers, pauperised by the utter absence of that self-reliant doggedness that declines to accept the theory of every avenue being closed to honest industry, and stolidly awaiting relief from the *Sirka*. without so much as an effort at self-amelioration of others reduced to suffering by causes with which food-scarcity may indeed have some subsequent concern, but which it could never have originated , had Mr. Pellew done all this, and burst upon the local Government with a tearful and sensational report of starvation, widespread and increasing, over the face of Eastern Bengal—what measure of popularity might be not have enjoyed ; and has refused to have a famine upon any terms, and as a result, he is about the best abused man in Eastern Bengal.

26.7 1878

NATIVES

Race antagonism, if it exists as a tone of habit in this country is, as a mile, confined to the lower order. We have the honesty to argue that we do not like the inferior classes of any nation, nor can we conscientously charge ourself with an overweening love of either wealth or social position for their own sakes, and set few will be found to deny, there is a hidden magnet that attracts towards the upper refined and educated circles for the purpose of social intercourse. Just as sympathy with the poor and lowly draws the benevolent to humble home steads and opens the heart to the sweetest influences of human kindliness and love of species ... Now we have no wish to fence with words. Inferior, the Natives of India most assuredly are, in certain qualities and belongings when contrasted with some European nations—taken class by class—but as our sympathies run with the upper grades of society, and we are about to gauge Native character, let us in charity ask by what known law of ethics, political or religious, do we compare an Englishman loafer with the educated, wealthy, well born Baboo of Bengal? In the sense that our sympathy flows towards human distress. We may be excused if we place the one before the other, and for the moment, regard with more pity and real feeling the shoeless European vagrant—the mean white ; .. It is, however, a very favorite habit of English writers in India to select extremes

for contrast, which afford our Bengalee friends legitimate grounds to retaliate upon us with a nervousness and logic at which we may affect to laugh, but which we must own to ourselves mentally, we simply cannot refute. Personally, the writer has been changed with being no friend to the Bengalee and truth obliges him to admit that, as a principle, the charges is not unteneble, but it is obvious that this lack of sympathy for a race in simply compensated by harmony of feeling with individuals which has more than counter balanced promiscuous interest and esteem. And is there not a good deal of their feeling abroad to lay in India and prominently in Bengal? Is there not more than a mere tendency to gauge a whole race by the shortcomings of units rather than to credit it with the virtues of majority? Are not Englishman far too apt to relegate a native gentlemen to the vicious, cowardly and vulgar atmosphere of a coolie, than to place him on a social and moral level whence comparison with other nations would be neither degrading to him nor unfair to the national characterstics he is supposed to represent? It is deplorable to reflect to what a depth of moral degradation Englishmen generally have sank in the estimation of the better-disposed Natives, from having passively suffered to the low ruffianism of the soddened loafer to be accepted as the standard of gentlemen. We have done this for ages past in the press, the pulpit and the lecture hall ; we have never disbursed the Native mind of the too-fatally prevelent idea that every adventurer who leaves home and friends for a perilous voyage to this struggle, but most interesting, land, rich in commercial resource and historical episode, is necessary a loafer ... Our intercourse with the Natives of the country has been characterized generally, by a want of toleration which certainly speaks of ill for the superiority we profess .. Instances out of number might be quoted to show that, instead of retaining the fealty, devotion and good fellowship of our Indian fellow subjects, we have estranged their affection from us by a system of hectoring which, though confirmed to particular classes, has exercised a baneful influence over the whole race[১২].

28.1 1882

ENTERTAINMENT

Though fusion of race aspirations and sympathies be impossible, Hindoos and Mahomedans in Dacca seem bent upon trying, if there cannot be something like cordiality of feeling between them. Our local Hindoo gentlemen in their reception of the Nawab Abdool Latif Khan Bahadoor[১৩], at the evening party held in his honour at the Northbrook Hall, proved that their friendliness, at least, was

genuine as we learn that nothing was wanting to render the entertainment as agreeable as their most ardent friends could desire. It is said that, the refreshments provided were entirely of a kind to suit the simple taste of oriental homliness, a sort of tea, toast and jam affair ; tame, innocent and enjoyable, the cup that cheers but not inheriates being tempered by lemonade and pain. In good old days of heavy feasts, when it is said that, Nawab Abdool Luteef's father was Khansamah to Sir Frederick Halliday[১৪] and speculated little on his son's attaining a Nawabdom, as he did reaching the northpole, a very different sort of collation would have been provided for the guests. Rich *Kababs* and pillaos and such like solids were more in the old Khansamahs style, and as for liquids, well, we fancy Sir Frederick's bums might have told a tale This is a degenerate age, as old folk are continually reminding us, and in many ways we have the dictum cenfirmed by the usages of the day, but in one respect, the spirit of the times may be acceptable. When butchers sons can be created noblemen, it is not difficult to understand that there must be some charm, subtle, hidden and potent, within the folds of the table napkin. Be this as it may, surely Natives must recognise in the very accessibility to distinction opened tó their compatriots by Government, a liberality and breadth of view which if it cannot convert a plebian into a gentlemen, if it cannot infuse into him the manners, feelings and impulses of the genuine aristocrat, can, at least, confer upon him a title that he in perfectly willing to receive In compensation for many an ugly reminder that Kabab and Nabab, under the fostering nourishment of over paternal government may became convertible terms.

16 9 1882

STATE OF PUBLIC FEELING

. . A Native, so far as we can judge from all we have see—and we notice there characterstics most prominently among the lower middle classes, is a thief by inclination and a liar by habit and less ideas of a superior education resolve themselves into a conception of higher and more cultured capacity for giving for freer scope to his besetting propensities. This, at least, is the result of a quarter of a century's observation, and we are sorry to have to admit that the experience of succeeding years has but confirmed our first impressions There may possibly be a higher side to this picture, but this we gravely doubt, as we have not yet seen the reverse of the shield, and we have mingled, in our day, with natives of classes, not a few of position and intelligence belonging to the classes to which we refer ...

It is unknown to Europeans that Natives of India Exhibit a resignation more mechanical than emotional in a variety of instances, in which more pronounced display of feeling would be out of joint with their ordinary modes of exhibiting the internal working of there minds. It needs many years of experience, a thorough knowledge of language, customs and social and religious usages of this country, to acquaint any foreigner with its people. Many officers fancy they have a thorough insight into Native institutions. Principles, and character. when they have barely skimmed the surface of Native society, in its different caste and social gradations .

10 2 1883

FAIR PALY

Bengalee leaders of thought have a nice, critical faculty of discriminating between degrees and recipients of justice It is the acme of justice, they tell us, to grant to Natives. privileges. the promise of which has been expressed, as well as foreshadowed by the tendency of legislation, and the breadth and liberality of a political wisdom that has characterized the attitude of British policy towards Native subjects of Her Majesty, our much-loved and esteemed Queen-Empress. Yes, undoubtedly, it is just and wise to fulfil expectations. the growth of which has been encouraged, so far as their fruition accords with the principles of good Government and responds to the requirements of the time. But we can hardly give in our adhesion to a policy professedly conciliatory, on the basis yielding of to Native whims and vagaries however childish and inconsiderate. Only a few issues ago, a Native contemporary, criticising the proposed rent Bill, and advocating a retention of certain of its priviieges or other, perhaps, more properly protesting against their recession. expresses his hope thus— "We do not, indeed, expect that even among the most strenuous supporters of the Bill say one will be found to maintain that, a legislative enactment which constitutes the foundation of the rights of property, should have in interpretation, however wrong, corrected and sat right after the expiration of ninety years". Some anonymous literary jackal, writing the other day in England, about the difference between the Native and European newspapers of India, declared the former to be more witty. To this opinion, we would beg to add the rider—"*yes*, and by far more logical." Our quotation will fully justify this piece of generosity on our part. for does it not lay down as a fundamental and sacred varity that, a wrong becomes, if not a right unassailable after a lapse of ninety years? In the Rent Bill a

principle of good faith is involved, which effectually prevents our admitting that the legislative provision here indicated is at all wrongly interpreted, or ever has been, and therefore, we say let it not be defaced from the statute book. Under its aegis, new rights and obligations have been created, new ambitions have arisen, new enterprises undertaken, while land has steadily risen in value to a rate that, thirty years ago, would have been regarded as fabolous. It is a measure initiated by a wise far-seeing statesman, under a condition of administrative mutuality between contracting parties, unlikely to be revived and such as to the best of our knowledge, has never had its counterpart elsewhere. We advocate that enactment, not by reason that it is ninety years old, but because it is a *righteous* and equable law, that, so long as it is permitted to continue, will bear testimony to the honour and good faith of our beloved country—however it may accentuate the system of anomalies by which this huge Empire was, in times past is, and must in the future, be governed. This is what no Native can underatand. It is not his idea of justice. Would it not be instructive to enquire what is? We may take this example heart to for a lesson. Ninety years in a Natives case should suffice to convert a wrong into a right or, at least, Government should consider it just that, a wrong having existed for ninety years should continue to exist for ever, ... what is absurd on the face of it, the Englishmen have no actual right, that is, no constitutional and personal heredity of claim to the right they assert they possess—and which they unquestionably have possessed since 1215—to be tried by their peers—what a small concession would it be to Natives, to come foreward like *men*, which they certainly are *not*— and declare to his Excellency Lord Ripon[১৮], that, they fully recognize our prescriptive and most dearly cherished privilege as having existed for nearly seven centuries, and as they profess that, the gradual lapse of time leavens a wrong into a right, and nine decades have so modified and constitutionally changed what is now declared to be a wrong in its inception ; they are prepared to acknowledge that, were the right we wrested from King John[১৯]— supposing it not to have existed before—ever so wrong then, it has been so triturated in its immoral outlines by the friction of years, as now to law become shaped to the perfection of a just and an impregnable statutory provision! We say it would be but a very small concession to say as much, in regard to what we prize as a legacy from our forefathers, considering that in regard to Hindoos—not a nation, but—a race of slaves, we have been so scrupulosuly self-denying, so indulgently tolerant, in permitting and respecting their social and religious prejudices. Such an act would exemplify that nobility of nature,

that generosity of response to European conviction, and just pride of race, when Natives profess is inherent with them, but which we admit, we have never yet been able to trace home to any individual claiming their possession. It is the natural claim of a free race to be judged and ruled by those whose hopes and aspirations have been nurtured in the atmosphere of inherited freedom. When however, we come to gauge a Baboo, what do we find him but a being saturated with the traditions of a history of tyrannical conquest and oppreasive rule, extending over centuries! Is this the man to sit in judgment over the lion hearted, kingly race of whom our ancestors are the direct descendants— a race that has spent its life and energy in building up a history for its nation that is emblazoned in the imperishable scroll of fame? Lord Ripon could hardly have emphasized his policy with more riducule or have conceived it in more degraded spirit, had he contended that a hornet should properly, according to the fitness of things, sit in authority over a condor. When can a Bengalee Baboo hope to equal an Englishman? When will he succeed in inspiring respect, not only among Europeans, but among those thoroughly manly races of Upper Indies by whom he is now regarded with contemptous dislike, and to whom no greater insult could be offered, than to classify them with the Natives of Bengal!

19 5 1883

... MISTAKEN

Very jubilant is our Bankipore contemporary— the *Indian Chronicle* — over the alleged item of *The Indian Daily News* is at last forced to admit that Europeans have and are willing to waive their right of trial by English Magistrates in criminal cases, if they are assured that the Native Magistrate to try them is a "tried" man, the "pink" of the service, and is acquainted with the manners and customs of Englishmen." This curious sentence, over which our contemporary has expended some ingenuity, before being able to dovetail it, as he would say, together, loses in logic what it supplied in comically, as our readers will see when they read— "This admission is extorted from our contemporary by the fact that, in the Court of Syed Amir Hassan Khan, out of a number of cases in which English men were accused of criminal offences, in the majority of these cases they invariably preferred (sic) to be tried by the Syed". And having thus laid down the law and the prophets, our Bankipore oracle contends that, such an admission may involve an argument for accepting Baboo Illbert's Bill as a corollary Perhaps. Unfortunately, there are three arguments opposed to such a conclusion.

First : Our contemporary of the *I D News*, apparently never meant to express, nor did he express, more than an opinion that, those who have a right of objection to trial by Native Magistrates may, under certain conditions and circumstances, waive their right. We fail in this admission, to see that other one involved, by which men could agree to see a wife, or sister, or daughter, dragged into court upon a false charge, preferred, possibly, by a Native woman servant in revenge for being discovered in an intrigue with a bearer, or kitmutgar. Next, our contemporary did not admit that Englishmen, in general, felt disposed to waive their claims to be tried by their peers. Lastly, our contemporary did not admit that Englishmen generally, would consent to forego their rights and be tried by Native Magistrates in general ; but that certain persons in particular, who may or may not be Englishmen, for ought that we know, agreed—not preferred— to be tried by a particular Native Magistrate. We do not know the surrounding circumstance, and as without that knowledge, a conclusion would be open to challenge. our contemporary has no more right to decide that these Englishmen (Allowing them to be such) *preferred* being tried by a Native, than we have for concluding that the features of these cases must have been peculiar, holding out some sort of inducement not usually met. Indeed, we may say, all things considered, that, the presumption is decidedly in our favour , so the alleged extorted confession becomes a more phantasy of the brain. Syed Ahmed Hassan Khan's court, it may be remembered, too, is within speaking distance of Calcutta, and consequently hedged in with all the projection afforded by near proximity to the Presidency.

2 6 1883

NATIVE OWNED

"Tis good to be merry and wise . 'tis good to be honest and true," says a time-honoured saw. Well, there's no denying it is good to be all therein implied, and happy is the man who can combine and reconcile these qualities in his own person. To be merry is not a gift entrusted to wisdom alone, since we see how unwise persons may indulge in mirth at the supposed expense of others ; while to be honest and true, necessitates the exercise of virtues not always possessed by either the wise or the merry. An instance has very recently come under observation. A paper published at Bankipore, called the *Indian Chronicle*, has just essayed to combine mirth, wisdom, honesty, and truth, in an attack upon this journal, with what success, let the reader determine. Quoting a condemnatory paragraph from our paper, in which we express ourself with indignant warmth at a virulest, gratuitons, and dastardly attack

upon English ladies by a scurrilous Bengalee literary scribbler. who, in America, would have met his deserts by a process significantly termed lynching, our contemporary is pleased to observe that twelves months ago, "such a paragraph would have been deemed unpardonable by every Englishman in the land, as a monstrous insult to civilisation and sense, and how few of them will condemn it even as strong language, while many of them will perhaps read it with such reverence as might be paid to a passage from the Scriptures." We cannot understand by what occult art the *Indian Chronicle* has been able to analyse and retain in solution, as it were, the opinion of every Englishman in India during the last twelve month, unless he has formed himself into a receptacle, under conditions and with capacity favouring such an undertaking ; but it seems to us that, a year ago, such opinion might have passed current among, and have received the moral suport of our countrymen. We should be sorry to belive that twelve months ago. India could not claim a single Englishman capable of appreciating a strong remonstrance against imputations of disgraceful conduct shovelled at Englishwomen, even though a censor may have expressed his indignation pretty angrily. It is not generally to words alone, we direct our attention as public writers, but to ideas and the scenes they conjure up, or the principles they delineate. We ask, then, in all conscience and common sense, how many Englishmen could we possibly have had in India a year ago, who would have sat supinely by while a native hireling levelled his literary garbage at their countrywomen, untruthfully, malignantly, and without the slightest cause or provocation? If there were many such, we neither saw nor herard of any. Our contemporary goes on— "In all the said writing which has disgraced the agitation against the Jurisdiction Bill We scarcely remember to have come across with such a sentence (sic) the above, in which it is plain the writer has dovetailed together all the naughty words that he could think of at the time. Our countemporary is using his gigantic strength *cruelly* against us ; first, by interlarding his sentences with the words "of them" which, having to meaning where they are thrust in, are enlisted, we presume, as heavy artillery ; and now writing in a style it is difficult for any Englishman who understands his mother tongue to follow. Then, what can be meant by the phrase "come across with"— are the words meant for anything peculiarly sarcastic, or incisive, or are they used because the writer has none more suitable at command? But what sort of "rabid writing has *disgraced the agitatian*" against Mr. Illbert's Amendment Bill? What in the name of nonsense is the feeling of a disgraced agitation. But again, we read :— "This Bill, it would seem,

after laying siege for some months to, has now completely stormed, the citadel of Anglo-Indian reasoning, and Englishman (Sic) are now hopelessly mad." Now the foregoing maybe a very beautiful figure of speech, and admirably adapted for suppose we say— the Salvationists, or other amateurs, but to us, we confess it reads strangely. Why Englishmen should have become "hopelessly mad" because Mr. Illbert's Bill may have laid siege to and stormed their reason, is about as explicable as that our brave countrymen in lucknow became mad because besieged and stormed by a licentious soldiers, in revolt. A stormed citadel is not necessarily captured citadel ; and even supposing reason to have been stormed by a suggested Act of the legislature, we have yet to know who are the besiegers and who the besieged, since an Act that will storm reason must, upon its won profession be irrational. Our contemporary writes of Englishmen with a freedom quite inspiring. May we ask him, how it is his knowledge of Englishmen and their belongings is so extensive. Is he an Englishman by nationality, or blood, or association? Has he been taken into the confidence of every Englishman in India? How then has he gauged English feeling to be enabled to write so authoritatively upon it? Our critic, we may at once disclose the fact, has done Englishmen in India the honour to uphold the Jurisdiction Bill, and has been good enough to take Lord Ripon and Messrs. Illbert and Hunter under the shadow of his protecting wing or quill—and being, as we believe, Native owned and Native-inspired, must set his pipes to any tune that may be called by his employers.This, we have heard, is the case and if so, it will account for our contemporarys zeal in Native interests. We have, however, nothing to do with the fact— if fact it is— of his writing to order. That is so purely a matter of conscience and good taste, that we call have no right to sit in casuistical judgement on individuals. We have no doubt that the man who serves Natives can have no compunction—or at least, can argue the little he has away— in advocating that his female relatives should be tried by Natives. We will not undertake to determine. For the rest, we do not know that anybody else is aggrieved ; except perhaps the heirs, executors, and assigns of Lindley Murray, for an awkward attempt to follow his ... thereby bringing them into contempt and repute by mis-direction.

2. 6. 1883

IMPUDENCE

Discussing the subject of contempts, a writer in the *Statesman*[২৭], who signs himself an Englishman, propounds certain questions we

shall pay him the compliment of answering ; not because he deserves an answer, has for the reason that he has drawn attention to a paragraph we write some issues of retracting—in which we expressed our belief that, Lord Ripon, though a lord, in less than a man—a firmly-rooted conviction that gathers strength and receives confirmation daily. This poor scribbler asks—Which is the bigger sweell in India—the Viceroy or a Judge or the High Court, say justice Norris?" Having settled it to his own satisfaction that, the Viceroy is the bigger *swell*, he goes on to say, while for contempt of Court, a Bengalee editor has been imprisoned ; yet, "I find that an English editor of an English newspaper, the organ of many of the loudest against Mr. Ilbert's Bill, writes thus of the viceroy." & Co., and quotes our paragraph in full. What analogy he has discovered between the two cases, we cannot conjecture ; what the difference is, we can easily demonstrate. In the former instance, a Viceroy, profesing to act in the interests of justice, and for its better future administration, introduces a disgraceful bill, by which it is sought to place the honour and liberty of English ladies at the mercy of men whose national estimate of honour is not inconsistent with lying, perjury, polygamy, and idolatrous rites, among which may be enumerated drunken revelry, language so vile as to need a specially infamous ingenuity of invention for its authorship, and a dance executed by courtezans, into the details of which no cleanly mind can enter ; may, even to refer to which, causes a blush of shame at the depravity of human nature. Having endeavoured thus to overstep all barriers of self-dignity and public decency, this Viceerory, whom we decline to call a man, is defended by his friends and lauded by his sycophants to the extent of a demand that he should be held in respect, instead, of as we believe, he deserves to be—in dishonour and execration. We cannot believe him to be a man and we prove our scepticism to be well founded, thus—A man would respect himself and his nation, his countrymen's feelings, his national traditions, and above all, would display a generous regard for the instinctive prejudices of feminine nurture and habit, for the clinging, dependent affection that daily makes appeal to the better part of man's nature, to his protection, to his strength, to his loyalty to the weaker sex and to that innate chivalry and tenderness of impulse in reference to women, which none but a true man can possess, and no true man can abuse. Hence, we deny that Lord Ripon can be a man. He has proved by a public and cruel disregard of womanly modesty and pride ; of feminine sensitiveness and purity, ...a culpable disregard for truth, he has cheated with studied indifference, the feelings and sense of Christian propriety of his country women ; he has endeavoured to

lower them in character and status, and is regarded by almost all European India, in this consideration as unworthy the respect and confidence of the lowest type of European British loafer. Now, let any one worthy the proud title of man, decide if Lord Ripon is worthy to be ranked in that fraternity, and if we are worng, we will own our error. And what resemblance does this verdict of ours respecting a person who has estranged himself from his country-men, bear to the case of a public writer, who has rarely let slip an opportunity of falsely accusing our countrymen of everything disgraceful his own unclean imagination can conjure up against us—a writer, who, for years past, in his leading articles has paraded his antagonism to Europeans. Who has hurled his petty thunder-bolts with an impotency that has rendered him to obscure for notice. This is the man whom an Englishman calls "A true patriot" and eulogises in terms too absurdly fulsome to reproduce, while he closes a rather dull, servile, *anti*-European composition by admitting that, he is almost "ashamed to have to subscribe" himself an Englishman. Before we had read half-a-dozen lines of his effusion, we had arrived at the conclusion that, he had more than ample reason to be not *almost* but quite ashamed to subscribe himself an Englishman. He is probably one of Dr. Hunter's Englishmen— *more* English than English folk, since a poorer specimen of composition, logic, or denunciation, we have rarely had the evil fortune to read. We can quite understand this writer's shame. A perusal of his letter ought to shame anybody with any sense of self respect. We suppose, however, the shallow device of a borrowed signature is one that the *Statesman* editor cannot afford to ignore. It can only be very painful to be in a position in which one's sense of right must be perpetually at war with his pecuniary prospects, and we fully sympathise with our contemporary, if such be his case If he is required to shape his policy after the style and fashion of Paik-parah, be it so ; but why attempt to plam the result of as an out-come of *English* feeling?

19.5.1883

MANLIER OR WOMANLIER

It will be obvious, says the *Bengalee*[৬৮] "from the *telegeams* we publish, and from the demonstrations held all over India, that the manlier races of India have learnt to sympathize with the people of Bengal in their distress." Quite so. *Manlier* races. So we have fixed the Baboo at last. We take our quotation from the *Bengalee* supplemental sheet of the 19th instant. Yes, the manlier races have combined with the womanlier, to protest against a man being,

as it is pretended, sacrified by the High Court of calcutta, a tribunal never so insulted or defamed before in the history of British conquest in India by the slaves to whom, in our foolish generosity, we have allowed a license of expression, everybody, not wholly a novice in Indian experience, felt persuaded they would abuse. Slaves of their Mahomedan conquerors, and trampled under foot by them, they were a meek, submisaive people, little better in physique—after a lengthened period of conquest—than women, and most certainly not equal to the cultivated women of any land, in purity of character, or elevation of thought. Emancipated and nourished by their English masters, they have waxed fat, become unscrupulous, insolent, treacherous and overbearing. Of course, we do not mean that they are socially or politically past redemption. Perhaps, they are not absolutely so. Whatever weakly reserve of manhood may be left to them from their effeminate insipidity of character—where it is not distorted by hypocrisy and deformed by vice—might yet by sustained effort and steady perseverance in attempted well doing, be devoted to some ennobling ambition some practical aspiration at climbing the rungs of life's ladder with stately dignity and fairly assured success and it is not impossible that, the future of this peculiar race may yet exercise a subordinate influence over the destinies of others in India, their superiors in all that goes to form the solid basis of character ; but that it can over take a leading part in the drama of life mould a nation's to politics ; impart colour and consistency to national reputation, or impress an enduring proof of political vitality upon the age, is not within the compass of their ability. Such feats are left for men to perform ; men, with of iron and wills that may break from over-tenden, but can nver be bent by coercion : men, who see in over-whelming odds, merely a hope of greater .... in victory. Yes much manlier races will leave their mark on Indian history ; nay, will themselves, while helping to make history, inscribe their *prowess* upon it with their steel lances and swords, while the effeminate Hindoo bows in dreamy adoration to his wood and stone idol, or muses in ... reverie over his polygamous amours.

2.6.1883

EXQUISITELY NATIVE

Only the other day, a Native referring to the "severe castigation dealt out to him (Mr. Branson) by Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose's[১৯] eloquent tongue" remarked that, as might have been expected, he (L. M. G.) "spoke in the language of gentlemen, in which respect he had decidedly the advantage of Mr. Branson." One may judge from this in what a Native recognizes the attributes of a *Gentle-*

man! That the language employed on both occasions differed, is of course, unquestionable ; in no far as Mr. Branson employed words of burning eloquence and of truth ; words that, besides appealing to one's patriotism and sense of right, repeated axiomatic varitics and recalled historical episode ; but let that pass. So now we may conclude that, among other distincitive characteristics and qualifications, the Bengalee Baboo desires to assume the character of a gentleman. Well, it's an innocent fad and one we should rather encourage than otherwise ; only a difficulty occurs to us. By what distinctive mark or badge are we to distinguish this special class? We are told that in ancient Athens grashoppers formed of brass were worn on the forehead, to signify that, their wearers were auloclhones, or earth-born—springing by their own volition out of clay. Could not a modern classical Baboo adopt some suitable device, say M. C. B., embossed on his pugree or skul-cap. with an enormons monogramaticaly diagrammed into a square or circle?

2.6 1883

HYSTERICAL PHILANTHROPY

Mr. O'Donnel asked the Under-Secretary of State for India whether his attention had been called to the fact that the Calcutta "*Englishman*" had published the following, among other advertisements— "Wanted—Sweepers, Punkha Coolies and Bhisties for the residents of Saidpur. None but Bengalee Baboos who have passed the entrance examination need apply. Ex Deputy Magistrates are preferred. Application should be forwarded to the Post-master of Saidpur with testimonials." Whether the provisions of the Indian Criminal Code punished insults intended to stir up resentment and animosity between different classes of Her majestys subjects in India ; and whether Government intended to take notice of the conduct of the Calcutta "*Englishman*" in placing educated native gentlemen and native servants of the Crown on the same level with the lowest menials." Mr. Mr. J. K. Cross : "I have seen the very disgraceful advertisement quoted by the hon. member. Under the Indian Penal code. "whoever intentionally insults and ... gives provocation to any person, intending or knowing it to be likely that and provocation will cause him to break the public peace, or the commit any other offence." is punishable with imprisonment and fine. The Government of India will doubtless exercise its discretion as to whether or not it will take any steps in the matter." (Hear, hear) People in England, and especially members of Parlia-

ment, who, being legislators, are supposed to know something of law, must entertain queer notions of the powers of Government in relation to the Press. Leaving aside the fact that, we defy Government to take legal action against our contemporary, it should be kept in mind that, the *Englishman* apologised next morning for the appearance of this advertisement, explaining that, its insertion was due to an oversight. Sent direct to the advertising department, it was received and inserted in due course, nobody suspecting it contained offensive matter, or was other than a *bona fide* announcement of a want, till the responsible officers of the staff read it and noticed its peculiar wording, when it was too late to do more than explain how it was suffered to appear. Unprovoked, we would not publish anything so insulting, but after the scoundrelly attacks we have noticed in Native-edited papers directed against Englishmen and women of the highest standing the foul blackguardism levelled at those ladies who undertook to memorialize the Queen-Empress protesting against the Jurisdiction Bill the *beastly* allusion that appeared in one Native-edited paper in particular, and the many coarse jokes so-called--that Natives indulged in at their expence, we do not consider it so very disgraceful to give publicity to any imputation calculated to wound the insolent and intolerable pride of Bengalee baboodom. Coward, Johnny Calf, Yahoo, & Co., are terms applied to Englishmen indiscriminately, by persons who write in Native-edited papers and who, we are asked to believe, are *gentlemen* as, indeed, they may be after Native models. These daring insults can come only from such as, we believe, are by habit and feeling fit to be low menials in English households. Can our readers picture a Briton called a coward, or calf, or yahoo to his face by a Baboo? We think such a sketch might be drawn by one's fancy, but the reality would be, to say the least, unpleasant to the aggressor. What figure any Baboo would cut after his insult was received, we cannot say, but we might almost be tempted to stake a small consideration that Aryan braggadocio would be indisposed to repeat its experiment after a first trial. What is the meaning of our constantly being assailed by anonymous curs, who have not yet begun to see the first promptings of manhood, and who at the first signs of danger, would fly in abject terror for protection to the very men their lying peers now refer to as cowards!

9.6.1883

EQUALITY

Often as it has been put forward by humble minded writers, that equality and equal justice with Natives are all that Englishmen in India claim. We notice that nobody has came forward to disclaim the strength or weakness of any such pretension. Equality between European and Native there never can be, for what, after all is equality, but neither the absence of difference or such entire symmetry of virtue as to render preponderance of any quality in one, merely a counterpoise of same other quality in the other ; hence *equality* or identity of merit, between two persons, differing in national instinct and aspiration, in religion, upon points of personal character, in habits of thought and action, in their estimation of moral attributes, in their notions of right and wrong positive and comparative is a physical as well as a mental impracticability. Fancy, the proud, ascetic Brahmins, scion of a koolin house each descendent of which has conferred honour upon a hundred families by taking into himself as many wives, realizing within his mind that, between himself and the *chamar* —eater of dead animals and other abound notions—there exists not a hair breadth or degrees of social, moral, or intellectual difference! Such an idea would be scouted as the product of a deranged intellect, then, if Natives cannot receive and accept ideas of equality among themselves, how can they possibly expect that we of a race that can cost into the shade every other race under the sun, should condescend to admit them, as a body, to equality with our own countrymen? We cannot do so nor would the utmost complaisance on our part, even if we could prudently exercise it, alter the fact that, a wide gulf has to be bridged, an immense gap to be filled up—a work of centuries--before an Englishman, as proud of his descent of his prestige and of his country, as any koolin of his immoral caste, and with a thousand-fold better reason, can begin to teach himself to believe that, by the greatest possible stretch of courtsey, his countrymen *may* in appearance and in that alone, accept the inferior position of equality to which Native arrogance would relegate his Friendship and esteem, Predilection and sympathy, there may be between Natives and Europeans—equality, *never*. Then, without equality, how can Natives be our peers and not being our peers, how can they try us?

4 4 1883

PERPETUATION

Native patriots especially such as never allow their shrinking modesty to wrong their genius, or their Heaven-inspired merits,

are singularly fortunate in the number of distinguished men whose memories they consider it necessary, in the interests of humanity, to perpetuate. Every man who rises above the common herd of mere chorus-makers for public attention, becomes a hero, and some statue, oil-painting, or other public memorial is enjoined, to preserve his mighty deeds from relegation to that limbo of oblivion, which presents itself to the Native mind as for more terrible than the worst form of human punishment conceivable. It seems ot us that, rather than live his days out in obscurity, a Native would die in the infamous distinction of crime, so that his name might be remembered ; and it also appears that, so great in his thirst to notoriety, he would be known by ... and consequently, would not be very particular, whether it were Sir Elijah Impey[২০], or Nuncoomar[২১], Jack Sheppard, or the Venerable Bede. Indeed, to such an extent do they carry this passion, that but a few months ago, they canonized a person who in a false and scurrilously malicious article committed a grave contempt of court, pretending that all India mourned his incarceration, when, probably, not a dozen men outside his native village had heard of him, except, possibly, as a young C.S., who, through a fatal propensity for which his countrymen are famous—or infamous—had himself expelled a service for which his moral obliquity disqualified him. He, too, is doubtless a distinguished Native, and will, when his time comes, be embalmed in the odour of Native sanctity as a great man, in common with the Peary Chands and other small fry—some in the habit of airing their seditious sentiments in public, as a claim to the sympathy of a Viceroy, who has, by his unblushing and dishonourable conduct, impressed many with the idea that he would sacrifice all most dear to an Englishman, so as to bamboozle Natives into conferring the honour of martyrdom upon him, and enabling him to pose as an object of hero-worship. Natives, unfortunately, do not seem to appreciate the difference between the distinction of virtue. learning, or eminence in any walk of life, and that of infamy, and the more vulgar the commendation that magnifies fairly extollable merits into special gifts by Nature, or Providence, the warmer their approval, forgetting that modesty and diffidence are often the greatest of charms, next to cardinal virtues. A Native could hardly understand Grey, when he wrote in the calm, sacred enclosure of the honoured though unillustrious dead :

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learnt to stray ;
Along the cool sequestered vale of life,
They kept the noiseless tenour of their way."

We had for years been under the impression that a Baboo was a mild, gentle specimen of humanity, rather an example to his blusterning European colleague, till we found such in reality not to be the case. To the inoffensive belong all proper respect. Soon there will be but very few left, as each day sees the number of civil well-behaved Natives lessen. 'Tis true, 'tis pity ; pity'tis, 'tis true..

26.1.1884

NATIVE LOYALTY

A paper called the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*[১২] comments on the case in which a European boy was fined Rs. 40 the other day at Bombay, for carelessly handling a gun, by which he lodged a charge of powder and paper-wadding in the back of a native lad. The Patrika says, with a solemnity suitable to judicial utterance — "It is said that a tiger becomes a man-eater as soon as he tastes human blood. We hope now that the European lad has enjoyed the exquisite pleasure of shooting a native down he will not as he grows up, repeat the practice too often." This is the sort of writing Lord Ripon has encouraged by his suppression of the Vernacular Press Act[১৩]. Had that been in force, Natives who write in quasi-English would have been more careful, lest their own utterances might be made amenable to interpretation by the light of criminal law.

30.7.1884

BABOOISM

Somebody has called the Bengalee Baboo a unique creature, possessing a *repertoire* of peculiarities unrivalled by any class of human eccentricity-monger, and we do not regard that observation as very far wrong. Bamboodom has its good qualities, and in some respects displays tendencies that are eminently creditable to both head and heart. Of late years our Baboo friend has expanded into a bumptious, self-sufficient fellow, with a habit of wagging his tongue upon little or no provocation, and thereby earning a cheap notoriety for patriotism—by abusing Englishmen in general—which he mistakes for fame, but we really think that, apart from these infirmities, he might, by careful and incessant manipulation, be moulded in time, into a tolerably respectable human product. One Baboo Lal Mohun Gose—a ranter, with a special talent for misrepresenting facts, and for trouncing persons in florid periods not quite idiomatically accurate or artistically and elegantly arranged, has, by the help of some representatives of a class not by any means rare

in England, cajoled a sort of rowdy committee to put him in nomination for a Greenwich constituency, in view to his return as a member of Parliament. An emasculated quorum of senile seekers after novelty, is not a difficult audience to draw to the verge of insanity, upon any question that promise to be a topic of sensational enthusiasm, and a nine days wonder. Electoral heroes, like other men, have their hobbies, and the rashly importunate electors of Greenwich,who seek for sensation through baboo Ghose as their puppet, figure much after the fashion of an organ-grinder with a monkey—it is not his music, but Jacko that attracts attention in shedders of half-pence. In Greenwich, Baboo Ghose is a central figure, and did he but affect a caudal appendage, the illusion would be complete. Electors such as those who have invited him to represent their interests, form a curious link in the chain of humanity, and it is evident that, to them, a Chimpanzee would be as great an attraction—could he but speak—as a pliable Bengalee Baboo, glib of tongue, and grotesque in attitude. Men of this stamp, meet half-way between the sublime and the ridiculous—the extreme of civilization and barbarity of personal regard for national honour, and defiant unconcern for the proprieties of life and the decencies of statesmanlike probity. Baboo Ghose was twitted .. by Baron de Worms, upon being unknown beyond the Cab radius of Calcutta—which is quite true—and he replied by a vulgar retort, which proved nothing beyond his power of abusing a gentleman, by calling him by implication a member of the lost tribes of Israel. Baboo Ghose would have belied his national instinct by refraining from scurrilous vituperation ; and so his retort is considered scathing, incisive and trenchant, by his countrymen. But his triumphant retaliation would have lacked a most essential quality had be reached his climax without declaring that "the English nation which will now for the first time govern itself, will be entirely in favor of the continuance of that policy of justice and of progressive freedom, which will hereafter be inseparably associated with the name of Lord Ripon." Vociferous applause followed, whether at the idea of anything in or out of nature being inseparably associated, or of the policy of "progressive freedom" that set race against race, and class against class, or because there is something overpoweringly proper in associating the name of Lord Ripon with anything in the heavens above, or on the earth below, or in the waters under the earth, or that people felt tickled at being told that the English nation is about to govern itself for the first time in its history, we have no idea. Cheers and applause—such as they were worth—greeted Baboo chose in the Greenwich Liberal Club, though among sensation-mongers his reception would

be as enthusiastic elsewhere in merrie England even without his appropriate appendage of cap and hells. Baboo Ghose told his bearers that Lord Ripon will not hereafter stand side by side in historical fame with many of his predecessors in the Government of India. "because there are not many of them worthy of being named in the same breath'—a piece of invective he meant to be very cutting. So far from our disagreeing, we coincide in Baboo Ghose's verdict, and we pray that the time may be very far distant when India will be so disgraced and Englishmen so thoroughly humiliated, as to be obliged to acknowledge the galling, diagraceful administration of a creature so bereft of manliness, of truth and of honour, as the wretched and deluded individual who has lately left this country amidst the curses of millions and the contempt of all India—disguise it as Natives may. And this famous genius, as he is, termed by his Native conferes, told his hearers that, Lord Canning[৫৮] "was assailed with something of the bitter hostility that has assailed Lord Ripon, because he stood up for the Indian people against vengeance, and was called Clemency Canning." Lord Ripon declared in the House that the epithet would cling to Canning as his "greatest and proudest distinction." Clemency Canning was not so-called because he stood between the people of India to protect them from vengeance, but because he strove to damp the military ardour of our brave British troops, when roused against bloodthirsty miscreants opposed to them in overwhelming numbers ; dastards who were brave only in the slaughter of defenceless women and helpless infants, and who never once, throughut 1857-58, dared to face a British force,except at enormous odds in their favour, which proved the invincible British soldier, well drilled and well led is a match for ten Asiatics—selected warriors—and certainly fifty Bengalees. And as though such utterances were insufficient to emphasize his position as Lord Ripon's self—elected champion and patron, Baboo Ghose alleged that—"The Anglo-Indian press are (sic) the bitterest enemies to Indian freedom and to the permanence of British rule in India, because the two things (sic) go together. They (sic) have tried to ridicule Lord Ripon, because he has tried it will be his proud distinction to be known as a man whose name was indissolubly (sic) connected with the practice of justice." What this bumptious charlatan can mean by declaring to a British audience that, the Anglo-Indian press is hostile to India's freedom—in whatever that freedom may consist—is beyond us : what he can possibly intend to convey by stating that, permanent rule and freedom in India are identical, is palpably beyond *him*. There cannot be any meaning in any such assertion, until it is discovered what is meant by freedom and what

by permanence of rule. As for trying to ridicule Lord Ripon, well, we confess we have never made any such attempt, because he considerately spared us all trouble upon that score, by becoming more ridiculous than we could have made him, although his panegyrist has done very fairly in that respect. He declares that his present nationality has been his for nearly 4,000 years—which ought to show he is no chicken—and he is not ashamed of it—nor should we be, after owning it all that time, as habit is second nature with us. He then assures his audience that he has no intention of deserting the home of his forefathers for fresh fields and pastures new—a fovourite pharase with Baboodom—though why he should now be away from his forefathers' home, in search of notoriety is not explained. And this insolent blasterer is cited to us as a genius gifted with powers of oratory unequalled by Englishmen. Of his so-called crushing reply to Baron de Worms we are asked : 'How many of Anglo-Indians (sic) who despise the Baboo could produce such a passage even to order. We are ready to bet that the *Bengal Times* man, for one, cannot." A safe bet, Baboo. We should be sorry indeed if any one connected with this journal ever made any such attempt.

14.3.1885

BENGAL AS IT WAS

Old Qui Hyes[১৫], who remember Bengal as it was forty years ago, shake their bald pates mournfully and sigh to think that, *Ichabod* is the verdict long years have practically illustrated as having relentlessly been recorded by inexerable destiny on one of the fairest provinces ever lighted by the sunshine of Heaven, or raised to prosperity by British enterprise. To say that history repeats itself, is to employ language as ludicrously impertinent, as the theory that events multiply life's actualities. History never repeats itself ; can never do so, without vivifying past epochs, and the men and recorded facts succeeding experience has reviewed, possibly, even relegated to the w. p. b. of human progress. To repeat itself, history must necessarily call back from the shadow-land many a dearly-loved familiar face, many a joyous, ringing laugh that echoed through the corridors of time, many a pleasurable reminiscence, buried far below the surface in the deep recesses of memory's secret caverns. History may reproduce a faint duplicate, a spurious imitation, but she cannot play the resurrectionist, and exhume from the past, that which the wings of time have borne far out of reach of human control. We seldom or never now see, in the dear old country, the splendid spirited, albeit a trifle too boisterously

tendencied, hunting parson the jocund gentleman-farmer, the genial-hearted, open-handed squire, on whose rubicund proboscis the tint of many a fine old bottle of crusted Port has mellowed? These are men of a past and sturdier generation, who once formed a considerable proportion in every hunting field of red-coated sportsmen. Their day is past, their vocation gone, giving place to lawn tennis and such effeminate sport. Do we meet in Bengal, in these days of degeneracy, any delightful representatives of our old school planter, we remember to have seen a quarter of a century ago? Specimens of all classes of a by-gone era may yet be seen, both here and at home, as we have admitted, in faint rescript, but can history, with all its vaunted magic, bring back to Bengal the enjoyment of the days of five o'clock hunts, one o'clock breakfasts and Shandygaff *ad lib*, till pipe and cigar were flung aside and "toboot and saddle" was again the spirit-stirring cry? Those glorious old days are past when broadcasted Englishmen rode as hard and as far, across country for a pig as sportsmen do at home after a fox. Jolly old Bengal! Many a day's sport can we conjure up from memory's store-house, to accentuate the past traditions of her geniality, before the pagoda tree was despoiled of its rich clusters of fruit, and left bare and barren by the bleak winds of adversity. Free and happy days, when people left the analysing process of dipping into family history to censorious critics and statisticians of antiquarian tendency, satisfying themselves that any man who could ride across country and was generally computed a jolly fellow, carried sufficient guaranty of his eligibility to sit at their hospitable breakfasts, dinners, and tiffins, as a welcome guest. And it was no very rare circumstance that this good fellow's social pleasantness was his only recommendation, beyond a white skin European society of every kind was at a high premium then, and a *sahib* of whatever kind, was not a person to be shut out of social intercourse with his fellows merely because he did not happen to be of gentle birth ; unless, indeed, he was personally objectionable. But coming within the prescribed limit of decent behaviour, if a man avoided the grosser froms of *gaucherie*, he was certain to be admitted to the intercourse of social Mofusail life, and to pass among station folk in the ruck, under the generic and conveniently elastic title of *gentleman*. Among many, let us single out an instance, to exemplify the feeling and tone of Bengal, forty years back. John– let us say—Blue, arrived in Calcutta in a steamer, one of a large regular line of traders, and was noticed by a gentleman with abundance of coin, but not overburdened with worldly wisdom how to dispense it prudently. John had taken to his comfort somewhat, which he could easily do as a saloon steward—for that was his

capacity on board. Mutual good under-standing led Mr.—to offer, and John to accept "a berth ashore" and he was noon after, duly installed as major domo on Mr.—'s estate in the interior. Here John's luck accompanied him. A dispute between himself and his employer resulted in his discharge, and John travelled down ... at an Indigo factory, by the Manager of which he was, as a matter of course, invited up to the bungalow. What passed between Richard and John is not recorded, nor is it necessary to our sketch it should be. Arrangements were entered into, and John, ex-flunkey and major domo, became an indigo planter's assistant. Here he flourished and prospered for years, saved money, purchased land and settled down comfortably, not forgetting to raise around him a small colony of little Johns, by the kindly aid of a young female Aryan of an enquiring turn of mind, who longed to watch the effect upon the human economy of mixed races. Tiring of this uneventful extistence after a time, John left India's coral strand for a sight of those chalky cliffs, for which so many of Albion's expatriated children pins. While at home, the blandishments ... —it matters very little which—proved too many for him, ... this time metamorphosed into a gentleman. John took Mary Jane for better for worse, determined to make a lady of her, and returning to Bengal, set up house and entered "society" those not knowing his history, welcoming him as a good-hearted fellow, who gave his friends captal dinners—as he certainly ought to be able to do, his antecedents having peculiarly fitted him for that class of entertainment. Of Mary Jane it may be said that her early attempts to pass for one of the Upper Ten were decided failures. Her very attitude her general demeanour, betrayed her low origin, but as time wore on, and she became better reconciled to the usages of gentle folk, her manner became selfreliant, and she had the daring, not not only to pretend to be a lady, but to declare in private to her friends, that nobody was good enough to marry a daughter of hers, who could not write C. S. after his name.

30.7.1885

MAHOMEDAN PROSPECTS

History has its revenges, as well its compensations in repeating and reviving salient incidents ; and no more striking example can be suggested than that of Mahomedans since their deposition in Bengal by our own country. Taking a retrospective glance into a long vista of years, reviewing the once powerful and brilliant dynasty that successive revolutions have crumbled to decay ; contrasting the pomp, pageantry, and circumatance that cast their

halo round the once resplendent rule of the emperors of Delhi and following their career of conquest—spoliation, some will call it,—to its decline in Bengal no student of history can well avoid a feeling of sadness in contemplating the low estate to which Mahomedans have fallen in our times, or restrain a hope—from a political standpoint—of seeing this erst chivalrous race restored to a becoming position in Indian administration, by such State encoura-gement as may revive, comparatively, the lost balance of power to its once fortunate but now helpless representatives. That Mahome-dans are acutely sensible of their loss of prestige and of the degradation attending it in their retrogressive failure in the race of life, is abundantly shown by their hearty efforts to regain lost ground and to do battle manfully with all comers in systematic efforts to fulfil their long slumbering aspirations of rising once again to assert their claims to our respect and confluence. Of late, we have had occasion to notice a revolutionary spirit astir among Hindoos that clamours for place, aims at disparaging English institutions, at depicting English society as corrupt, English principles, as based upon an element of oppression, and Englishmen, in general, as bent upon self-aggrandizement, to the utter exclusion of Natives and to the overthrow of every Native hope that clusters round a laudable ambition to participate more largely in a share of adminis-trative work. Could we divest this spirit of its acrimonious element, and eliminate from unworthy prejudice a legitimate desire to co-operate with Government in its unceasing efforts of leaven the seething masses of India to a sense of justice and mode-ration, we could hardly conceive of a more commendable under-taking than that of infusing into educated Hindoos some portion of that indomitable principle which animated our forefathers of old to wrest from tyranny the rights common to our noble race—rights, which nature had formulated, reason had sanctioned, and enlighte-ned intelligence had endowed with scope and tendency. In the present transition state of Hindoo society, that task is made impossible to philanthropy. Declamation, self assertion, a fascina-ting impulse to detract from English principle, to misrepresent English effort for India's wellbeing and to impute naught but evil to us, render our desire to conciliate our Native fellow-subjects and to reconcile interests apparently at conflict, an impossibility. Our prospect of effecting a good understanding might be brought within measurable limits of practicability, but for the obstructive-ness of an unprincipled and unscrupulous press, whose sole function seems to concentrate in the duty of perversely distoriting facts and defaming Anglo-Indians of every class and calibre, and of puffing to nausea those popularity ; hunting Natives, who, but for

their tom-tom politic proclivities, would never emerge from the obscurity to which their demerits relegate them. Reported inflammatory speeches at rytos' meetings, nwespaper articles, dictated in a most objectionable tone of offensive imputation, and a generally disclose disposition to affornt Anglo-Indians, all go far to prove that Hindoos—as represented by their new school of tomtom patriots, are inimical to British interests and disloyal to our rule. Unquestionably we do not suppose that these inane speeches permeate the masses, or cause much lasting excitement among even those who hear them, but however small an effect they may influence, it has an evil tendency, inflamed and exaggerated by those denationalized—and demoralized—seekers of Native favour, who affect to espouse their "cause." Nobody could blame these men, did they seek merely to elevate Natives in their social, moral, or political condition, and to bring them into more genial harmony of intercourse with our countrymen, but they go far beyond this, and are encouraged by Europeans, who fancy they serve the interests of progress by inciting to agitation and discontent, by stating that we govern India solely for our own selfish purposes to promote the cravings of our own greed and pride, and that nothing short of an overthrow of our present system and a transfer of power to Indian hands, can, or should, satisfy Native aspirations. Amidst this general conflict and clamour, however, there is a remarkable incident that appeals with peculiar significance to observation. It is a conspicious absence of Mahomedans from these political meetings, as also, their abstention from all share in promoting disaffection coupled with a tone of generous sympathy and moderation in their journals. It is pleasing to note this attitude of forbearance, as indicative of a radical ravolution of feeling since the terrible episodes of 1857, when a flame that had long been smouldering broke out into tragic conflagration and desolated India. While it may be admitted that in those fearful days, mutiny might have concentrated its organisation in a group or political figures chiefly Hindoo—the backbone of insurrection was Mahomedan. Remembering their former greatness as statesmen and generals, and fired with the ardour of regaining it, they armed in haste and made desperate, but as events proved, fruitless efforts to drive our troops from what justice must admit was once their own territory by right of conquest. Utterly crushed, however, by our superior prowess, they subsided into sleek but seething discontent, cherishing for a brief season, a hope of success against our arms. This expectation time proved to be delusive. They have accepted their defeat like men, and their systematic holding aloof from political ferment may be ascribed, not only to a feeling of

despair, but also, in their preference to English, as contrasted with Hindoo administration. Hence it is that their journals adopt a different tone from that of the Hindoo press and manifest a feeling of loyalty seldom to be seen in Hindoo papers. It may well be asked here.—To what end, is their friendlines displayed? Can they anticipate a time when they may contend upon terms of equality with their Hindoo rivals and co-operate with our countrymen in sharing with us the responsibilities of administrative office? We say emphatically—Yes. Already, they have have shown their amenity to a rule just in its inception and true to its traditions, and they find by experience, that friendship with Europeans is their best line of policy, leading to the furtherance of views which events are helping to realize for their future. Instead of lending themselves to the forth and fume of schoolboy declamation, they have steadily and sturdily put their shoulders to the wheel, resolved to gain by zeal, practical intelligence, and steady application, what they have hitherto lost by sullen disaffection. Their prospects are daily improving, their ambition is stimulated by a knowledge that capacity added to fidelity will and must eventually promote their well-being, and a consciousness of their capability to seize and hold the prizes of life—won by diligence and steadfastness of purpose—furnishes them with a motive that will ere long, work out its ends to their substatial and permanent benefit. In our public schools and Colleges, in competitive intellectual tournaments, in a widespread desire to promote the moral welfare of their co-religionists, they have discovered a new field for their hitherto latent energies, and that they will reap where they are so carefully sowing, must be patent to every student of current history. Of late years, in our very midst, in Dacca, societies are springing up, which promise at no distant date to illustrate the value of labours undertaken amidst circumstances of discouragement—almost of despair. Success has in some measure, rewarded their endeavours, with a bright promise of larger achievements to come, and girding up their loins, they are steadily pursuing a course which will repay them for incidental disappointments. Summed up, we have every reason to believe that, in a few short years, our Mahomedan fellow-subjects, by their untiring zeal, will realize a consummation of their hopes, and prove to their competitors that a people possessed of manly energy and indomitable will are not to be daunted by obstructions that apper formidable, only so long as they are not tested by hopeful and healthful experiment. They have learnt by experience that all things become possible to a sufficiently strong will, and that a thing is impossible only as the means for its accomplish ment are inadequare. Hence, their dignified temperance and avoidance of a spirit or condemnation which seeks to

"Damn with false praise, assert with civil leer.
and without sneering, teach the rest to sneer."

6.3.1887

সমাজ

[যে সময় 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' প্রকাশিত হয়েছিল সে সময়ে বাংলার সমাজ জীবন ক্রমেই জটিল ও কলরবমুখর হয়ে উঠেছিলো। এ সময়ই প্রসার ঘটেছিলো বাঙালি শিক্ষিত পেশাজীবী বা মধ্যশ্রেণীর এবং সমাজে আধিপত্যকারী শ্রেণী হিসেবে তারা হয়ে উঠেছিল প্রভাবশালী। ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের সঙ্গে এই শ্রেণীব সঙ্গে কিছু কিছু স্বার্থ সম্পর্কিত বিষয় নিয়ে সংঘাতের সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো এবং বলা যেতে পারে এর ফলে সৃষ্টি হয়েছিলো জাতীয়তাবাদী ভাবধারার। এই পর্বের বিভিন্ন সামাজিক আন্দোলন এর প্রমাণ।

অন্যদিকে, ইংরেজ পরিচালিত সংবাদপত্রগুলি যে বাঙালি সমাজ নিয়ে খুব আগ্রহী ছিল তা' নয়। আর যেটুকু আগ্রহ ছিল তা হলো হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের জীবন চর্যা নিয়ে। হিন্দুদের রীতিনীতি নিয়ে সমালোচনা করাই ছিল তাদের মূল উদ্দেশ্য। সংকলিত সংবাদগুলি এর প্রমাণ। এই রীতি নীতি সমালোচনা করে তারা যে উপদেশটি দিতো তা'হলো হিন্দু সমাজের সংস্কার ত্যাগ করে যুগোপযোগী হতে হবে। অবশ্য হিন্দু উদারনৈতিকরা আরো আগে থেকেই তা বলে আসছিলেন, সেই রামমোহনের সময় থেকে। এবং তা যে হিন্দু সমাজে বিভিন্ন আন্দোলনের সৃষ্টি করেছিলো তা বলাই বাহুল্য। 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' লিখেছিলো- "...If Natives, opposed to the progress of the age, refuse to follow the current of events and set themselves in opposition to the spirit of enlightenment everywhere diffusing its rays for the instruction of mankind, they must not be surprised to have the curious argument used against them, with the force it has of late years acquired from the accumulated record of past periods in the worlds history]

সংকলন

CORRESPONDENCE

THE DEPRAVED CONDITION OF RESPECTABLE HINDOO SOCIETY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL TIMES

Sir,—The following is a copy of a letter which I received from a relative a few days ago. It shows that the moral purity of our Hindoo homes seems to be fast degenerating. The reason seems to be found in the spread of a theism and infidelity. Sir George Cambell will seemingly right when he said that a Native lady who was educated without the inculcation... Native ladies are gradually losing their faith in Hindooism, but instead of adopting a better religion, they are becoming atheist. The following is my friends letter :—

My dear B.

When a man falls into a trap, the most benevolent thing he can do is to warn others to avoid it.

A few days ago, I attended the marriage of my eldest brother, in a well known village of chunderdeep, in the district of Burrisaul. The village contains a large number of Hindu gentlmens who are respectable as regards both birth and wealth. In one of the most respectable of there houses, my brother's marriage took place. I was in consequence compelled to take my breakfast in it. While dining so about a dozen ladies of the house came to me for the purpose of having what I will, for the sake of decency. designate by no severer epithet than that of *fun* or *sport*.

They said that as I was the younger brother of the bridegroom, they were all sisters-in-law of my brother and they consequently wanted to make my acquaintance. This they did by throwing curry and rice on my head, while others took mud, and drew pictures on my face, hands and body. Others mocked me. In the vain hope of being free from their painful persecution I went to bathe. But they

followed me and behaved in a most shameful manner. I was astonished, because they were all Hindoo Ladies,—daughters, and wives of the most respectable men in the village, and ranging in age from fourfeen to twenty-four. After dinner of the same day, they again commenced their trick, which were more fitted for a house of ill-fame than for that of a respectable Hindoo gentlemen. They actually has the audacity to sit in my lap, to proceed to familarise of a most immodest characters invitings me to take similar liberties with them. Suffice it to say that, I had abundant ground for concluding that several of them were utterly corrupted in reference to purity and morality. They probably were so bold and immodest, because they were in a village and removed from public scrutiny. Wickedness loves darkness and hates light.

My whole experience was a most disgusting and saddening proof of the spread of obscenity through the best part of our Native society—through that part of it, which was, in ancient times, justly deemed the impregnable retreat of purity and chastity. I ask you as a friend to do some thing to ventilate this matter in Dacca, for the rays of public opinion are too hot for the quakes of vice to endure. Try and bring it before the best men of Native society in Dacca. Try and get them to devise something which will stay the progress of obscenity. Otherwise it will became a perfect cancer that will be the death of the whole of respectable Hindoo society."

This is the letter I received. And I think, if you will kindly publish it in the columns of your esteemed and influential paper, you will enable me to fulfil the request of my friend.

Yours Faithfully,
A NATIVE GENTLEMAN

31.5 1876

HINDOO REFORMATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL TIMES

SIR,—Some letters lately appeard in your columns which censured, with tremendous severity, the immoralities prevalent among Hindoos. Permit me to send you one which shows that virtue has not quite left the Hindoo race. For the pasr five years, I have resided in Burra Bazar, in Calcutta, where I learned the following fact. A Khetria who had accumulated immenes wealth, died three years ago, leaving the only son married to a beautiful lady after the

father's death, the son being freed from all restraint, become a drunkard and a profligate deauchee, prowing of course utterly unfaithful to his gentle and innocent wife. On ascertaining this, her grief was intense but she nobly determined to do her best for the rescue of her unhappy husband from the vortex of vice into which he had plunged. By tact, skill, indomitable perseverance and unquenchable love she completely succeeded and was the means of saving her husband from the toils of the female harpies who had corrupted his manhood, and from the adamantine chains of the brandy-bottle—that curse and plague imported into down-trodden. Hindostan from Europe. She used to sing sweet songs, so speak gentle, loving words to him wash his hands and his feet sit up for him at night, to soothe him, to charge him, to comfort him, and in a word to enchant and charm him, until the powerful spell of her love proved more than a match for the weak and comparatively impotent spells of numerous but upcountry courtesans. The upshot of it was, that his conscience stung him for being such a fool as to throw his money away upon those who ruined him, and to break the heart of such a noble, loving and gently wife as he had been blessed with. He determind to turn over a new and clean leaf in his debauched and depraved life, and with the help of his amiable and courageous wife, he completely succeeded. The brandy-bottle presented a more serious difficulty. While the female demons who had invaded his wife's rights were outside the citadel, the brandy bottle was within. Its golden line, its charming odour, its clearning odour, its gorgeous label, its *saheb loq* preatige, charmed him to sleep at night, and greeted him at early dawn. But his wife took this matter also in hand and with truly feminine tact and skill disenchanted the spell. She cooked her husband's food with her own hands, making it as savoury and palatable as her expensive knowledge enabled her to do. She conneccted all the drinks she could think of that would cheer without inebriating. And she gained, like a great heroine, a complete victory at last Her husband is now a model husband, and aptly illustrates the well-known proverb—"*he to whom much has been forgiven will love much*". Now I am not one of those fools who hold that an unfaithful husband has a right to expect forgiveness from his injured wife. For all except idiots, can easily understand that that injury is and ever must be, an unpardonable sin against wedlock, and the husband who is unfaithful to his wife ought to be treated exactly as a wife proving unfaithful to her husband is treated. But who can refrain from admiring such heroic conduct as I have been describing—conduct in which the wife proved herself an angel sent from heaven in disguise.

As you have lately published letters which I am sorry to say prove only too truly the increasing immorality of Hindoo Society. I am sure you will not refrain from publishing this one, which represents a fairer scene and ensbles me to preform a friend's request.

Yours Faithfully,
BASANTO KUMAR BOSE

[Our correspondent is anxious that we should publish his name, with ... of his respectability an intelligenes. We are told he possesses both qualities. He has been accredited to us as a privete pusil of two excelent educational officers, and seems to have made go ... of his opportunities. Ed. B.T.]

24 6.1876

NATIVE SOCIETY

What is the present condition of native society among the various classes of Hindoos? What are the influences that predominate among them? What are the principles by which they are guided? How far have daily extending commerical relations and contact with European ideas and civilization altered or modified the social relations existing among them? What effect have these influences had on the ideas of the people respecting their obligations as parents and children, as brothers and sisters, as husbands and wives as friends and neighbours, as masters and servants? Has caste lost its power? Have the countless degrading social distinctions and observances consequent on caste fallen into decay? Do the superstitions of the ignorant still assert themselves over the convictions of the enlightened, or do the educated as a rule, sway the illiterate masses? Although it cannot be denied that the power of priestcraft is crumbling, is it equally true that the traditionary rights and distinctions that have sprung from it, as branches spring from a parent stem, are also dissolving and beginning to disappear? It may be so, it must be so to some extent, but we fear that it is by no means so to the extent to which superficial observers believe. An idea is great when it is true. It becomes a blessing when it is practically applied It is astonishing how far one true idea can extend its dominion : but it must be acknowledged before it can begin to develop its power. Let us explain. It is impossible but that the liberal education that so many youths have been receiving for the last half century should, to a great degree, have constributed to the undermining of religious belief and observances based on the ignorance of the mass. At the

same time, the results thus effected have been limited not only in their extent, but in their direction. Education and contact with European sentiments have, for example, taught the parental duty of seeking the enlightenment of one's off-spring. They have ameliorated the conjugal state by stirring up husbands to educate their wives and daughters ; they have aroused a certain amount of intellectual activity which, finding a safety-valve in literary clubs and debating socities, draws off young men from the excitements of licentious passion. Thus far, these things may be admitted to have done good. They have to some extent made better husbands, better wives, better parents better children and better friends. But—and here we come to the great idea still wanting among the people—have they made them better members of society? To be sure, we may be reminded that charity begins at home, and that the way to become better members of society is to learn to dicharge with an upright mind, the duties one owes to one's own flesh and blood. And we do not care to deny it. All we mean is to assert a fact ; all we maintain is, that European knowledge and civilization have not yet awakened in the Native mind the idea of each man's responsiblity as a member of society. The people—we are speaking more particularly of the commercial and educated classes—are so much under the influence of caste distinctions still, that 'society' in the sense in which we use the phrase, that is a unit, can convey no definite idea to their minds. Their different castes are but cliques and coteries, to be as a member of any one of which is by no means the same thing as to be a member of that broad, expansive thing that we call society. Their society is so cut up, so divided and subdivided, with such unbridgeable gaps between the sections, that it is impossible to conceive of them all together forming society. Realizing to a greater extent than before the obligations of kinship or clanship the people have not yet learnt to realize their broader responsibilities as members of society. Their development as moral men is incomplete without the acknowledgement of these responsibilities, and these responsibilities cannot be appreciated until there is a *bona fide* society can be formed only from the amalgamation or fusion, or whatever else we may like to call it, of the countless sections of the people. The high caste must be brought low, and the low caste elevated, the mountains must be humbled and the valleys exalted, before the great unit of society can be established. And how is this to be done? This is the great problem of the day. Social distinctions, as such, there will ever be in all society ; but distinctions based on religious disabilities must give way before the true moral reformation of the country can be effected. The continued recognition of

such distinctions is the strong hold of priestcraft, and it must be assailed and battered down before the idea of society's and its responsibilities can be realized. Some time ago, we received a long and indignant protest written against the Gossyamee community and their notorious rapacity. If the writer really is what he represents himself to be, he ought not to be ashamed to declare his views publicly : but be this as it may, his account of the Gossyamee community and their notorious rapacity. If the writer really is what here presents himself to be, he ought not to be ashamed to declare his views publicly : but be this as it may, his account of the Gossyamees is not thereby affected. "They are looked upon,' he says "whith more horror than Nero[১৬], Caligula[১৭], or the ancient Druids[১৮]; for they only hunted men, but these Gossyamess murder virtue itself.' Their trade is truthfully described as being confined to the "squeezing out of money from their disciplies,' whom they curse upon their *poitas* when they refuse to be fleeced. "They pretend to know the events of futurity, to hold communication with gods, and to crush a man to dust at their will. By these means they amass large sums of money. When not satisfied with the gifts they receive, they very often sit in *dhurna* at the gate of the man not complying with their request, for which, according to the Indian custom, neither the man nor his family can drink or eat.' Our correspondent goes on to say that there was one of these men in Dacca, who tyrannized over "the poor and simple-hearted Bunnicks of the city to such an extent that their disgust in the end overcame their religious scruples and they made a stand against his impudent demands for money.' We instance this case, because it illustrates what we have said respecting individual responsibilities to society. If this feeling existed ; that is to say, if the religious distinctions of caste did not alienate the sympathies of the people from one another, so as to make one section perfectly indifferent to the sufferings of any other section, could such bare-faced robbery of industrious men by drones, be allowed? Would it not be indignantly resisted by every man on whom it was proposed to be practised, on the ground that resistance was a duty he owed to society? There can be no question about it. The power of the Gossyamees would very soon cease, if each man knew that in resisting their demands, he might confidently reckon on the sympathy and support of all his countrymen. Caste cuts up society by means of countless arbitrary distinctions, breaks the bands of universal sympathy, and so ensures ... to the iniquitous devices of brazen-faced oppressors. Take another illustration. We have received a letter from Cherrapoonjee, by whom written, we cannot say, giving us an account of the disgraceful treatment the dead body of a

Hindoo received at the hands of his friends and co-religionists. As a Hindoo, his body ought to have been burnt, instead of which it was buried. His co-religionists, in refusing to burn him, thrust him out of caste. And why! simply because the man having been of penurious habits, never spending more than four rupees a month, and living on *dall* and rice had never given them a feast! As nobody would burn him, the convicts of the Cherra jail, it is said, were ordered to bury him. The incident, if it is true, and we have no reason to doubt it, painfully betrays the utter absence of all feeling of accountability to that which, under other circumstance, might have been defined to be the general sentiment of Native society.

18 5 1878

NATIVE MORALITY

Groans, hisses and execrations have swelled the chorus of horror with which a Native mob, last week, consigned a countryman to the Calcutta house of correction, to serve out the twelvemonths' sentence of hard labour, for his offence with his own sister's child—a wife, a mother and as Native organs allege, an educated woman. That such a hideous crime should be systematically perpetrated under the very eye, so to speak, of Kettermoney's father, and within shadow of the parental roof-tree, is not very surprising, when we come to consider the conditions of Native social life. It is clear from the evidence that, while Kettermoney's husband was from home, she formed a *liaison* with her uncle, of which her father could not but be aware, and at which he winked, if he did not actively lend himself to its furtherance. It is admitted that, with unquestion able proofs of Kettermoney's criminal conversation with her uncle, her husband at first condoned her infidelity, and it is more than probable that his apparent indifference to the violation of her sacred marital obligations led to the complicity of Bidoney, in promoting the filthy intrigue. We have here a strange story of vice laid bare in all its revolting deformity. An absent husband, a faithless wife, a quiescent father, a libertine uncle, and a sympathizing female friend—all of whom it is only fair to infer form the evidence, were acquainted, more or less, with the facts of the case and took no step to check the course of guilty love. Roused, at last, by the publicity the affair had gained, or by some motive it is impossible for us to fathom the husband having already previously condoned his wife's improbity,seeks redress in a criminal court, and an intelligent jury—by its verdict—bringing home the offence to the prisoner, the Judge awards him, strange to say, one of the lightest sentences ever passed for so grave a

breach of the law and so defiant an outrage upon public morality, and that, after stigmatizing the act as "an enormous and most serious crime." Surely then, it was expiable by a sentence which should deal commensurately with it : but no, his Lordship, acting upon a sentiment of mercy for which we can find no reason, sent the miscreant practically into seclusion for one year : for it is monstrous to believe that the creature will do much work in jail, with the means he possesses of ameliorating his convict circumstances. In curious contrast with this case—in which an English Judge, moved by some indefinable feeling of pity for a miscreant, awards an almost nominal punishment for a grave and shameful offence—is the contemporaneous prosecution of a reveiver of stolen property, before a Mahomedan Police Magistrate, resulting in a sentence of two years' imprisonment with hard labour. Truly, comparisons are odious! Our contemporary of the *Englishman* , commenting on the case, remarks upon the specially lamentable fact that the two ladies concerned—Kettermoney and Bidoney—are both reputed to be educated after the European style, and that fact, there is too much reason to fear, will have the effect of confirming the Native prejudice against female education. Two educated women have brought about, they will argue, the very evil consequences they have all along forenoon because of their freedom from the wholesome restraints imposed by Hindoo customs. Such a result we admit, is possible, but how terribly could the tables be turned on Kettermoney's father and the advocates of zenana seclusion. Here, we Europeans can exclaim is a father, the natural protector of his daughter's honour and reputation— in her husband's absence—passively conniving at her disgrace under the cloak of observing the habits engrafted by religion upon Hindoo society. Here is an educated woman—Bidoney—under pretence of living secluded, after the manner of her caste, first residing in a house unattended and unprotected save by a single male domestic, who alone slept in the same dwelling with her, and next, receiving into her domestic privacy and harbouring a woman who, she could not but very strongly have suspected, if she did not know the fact, of having formed an unnatural and infamous connexion with the brother of her own mother—such is among the ... of zenana seclusion, in its real or pretended observance. Allowing, then, that uneducated Natives are liable to argue from this case, that English education and the liberty of intercourse it encourages between the sexes, leads to evil consequences similar to those just enumerated, Europeans have an equal right to generalise from the single and possibly exceptional case before them. That the disputants on either side would be philosophically wrong, is nothing to the

point ; people' of little or no mental training, in the heat of debate are not generally given to weighing their arguments, not to deciding against themselves that, it is illogical to single out a solitary example as the basis of a general conclusion. We honestly admit that we have no sufficient ground for a dogmatic condemnation of a system on the *strenght* of a single instance—and that therefore, we should be wrong to permit ourselve to be prejudiced—did it comprise all the testimony we are able to adduce of the pernicious results of immuning womes in living graves. The convent system in Europe, and the zenanas in India, have each contributed to the literature of vice, a sufficient number of cases to afford overwhelming evidence of the consequences resulting from a too-rigid observances of the obligations they enjoin ; and if Natives, opposed to the progress of the age, refuse to follow the current of events and set themselves everywhere in opposition to the spirit of enlightenment everywhere diffusing its rays for the instruction of mankind, they must not be surprised to have the argument used against them with the force it has of late years acquired from the accumulated records of past periods in the worlds history. We have an abiding conviction that, the indictment of education would prove very much stronger than the defence of superstitious ignorance.

21 8 1878

HINDOO MEETING

On wednessday night last, a Hindoo meeting was held in this town, to concert measures for counteracting the influence of non-Hindoos and others against Hindooism. Congress Hindoo, so-called, Brahmos and such as advocate abolition of early marriage, remarriage of Hindoo-widows and other time-honoured institution, are to be opposed, and, perhaps, eventually out casted from amongst orthodox Hindoos, should they continue advocating their unpopular reforms. It is heped and believed that, this movement will spread. Writing from an experience of over a quarter of a century. We can safely assert that every attempt hitherto made to demolish Hindooism has ended in disaster ; and where so-styled success has been achieved, results have been so meagre and unsubstintial that, fairly weighed, they have been found out of all propotion of their cost. Missionaries tell as that they are compensated for a lifes tail, if they succeed in saving a single soul. Perhaps so, but we do not see it. He cannot value a human soul by any actuarial scale, and hence are unable to assess its supposed salvation : of which ofcourse, there cannot be a proof A century ago, India was less vicious than she is to-day. Her zenana system.

Hindoo celibacy, early marriage and several other customs are well adopted to Hindoo life. They will not flourish upon occidental nutrtion. By interference we merely dwarf and divert them. This is a subject of considerable interest; and we hope to return to it soon.

15 2 1890

NATIVE PREJUDICE

Notwithstanding thousands of proofs in their hands contrariwise, our native friends still cling, with unaccountable pertinacity, to their cherished theory that we hate them. From our good friend *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, we quote :

"The malignant manner, in which the disasters of England were discussed by the nations of the world, raised the question why that country was so hated Lord Curzon, having real sympathy for the people of India, guaranteed their loyalty. No other ruler had ever done it, or perhaps had no opportunity of doing it. Indeed, the general belief, among Englishmen in India, is, that British rule is hated here. The sedition laws, the disarmament of the people, then ostracism from the army, the severe way that riots are dealt with— all go to shew the distrust of the rulers for the Indians."

Our good friend apparently does not read current journalism, or he unfortunately fails to distlinguish between indiscriminate abuse and above criticism We would like him to name a few respectable journals in which anything approaching malignity has appeared against England as to her doings in South Africa. That journalism paid for and supported chiefly by political scandal-mongers, scandals and grabage of every kind, has raised at England in *malignity*, cannot be denied, nor would we wish to discover a just ground for denying it. We prefer to have it, since it must be obvious to all that "malignity" cannot by any possible ingenuity, be accepted as criticism. Our friend appears to have lost sight of this point also, and when he says Englishmen regard British rule in India as hated, he is evidently off his head. What possible connection there can be between continental dislike of England and her supposed unpopularity as a ruler over India, it is not easy to apprehend, but our contemporary endeavours to establish some sort of an analogy, and to drag it in neck and heels, where it has not any legitimate *locus standi* : and to support his theory, he refers to "sedition laws" as if they applied exclusively to natives, whereas, every British publicist in India is included. Yet this shows "distrust of natives," though, in what way, we are not informed. Then, because we do not choose to let every ignorant ryot possees a fire-arm, we are charged with "disarmament;" and because we

are averse to let natives run riot through our army ranks, we have exercised towards them an "ostracism from the army." Hence, also, when we enforce statutory laws, enacted to suppress crime, we but add another proof to show our distrust of Indians. And as if these several links of evidence were not sufficient, our contemporary adds others :

"The presence of seventy-five thousand British troops in India proves this distrust conclusively They are kept here ostensibly, for the protection of India from Russia. It is for this that the bug bear of a Russian invasion is ever kept alive for the purpose of keeping the British public in a state of constant terror. The object they want these British troops here."

And having discharged this sacred and patriotic duty by telling our countrymen that they pay seventyfive thousand British troops to remain in India to protect themselves against themselves, our friend tells us that :—

"This chronic disaffection they attribute not so much to the defects of the rule that they have introduced, as to the attitude of a certain class of unruly Europeans towards the people. Englishmen who are more guided by clannish feellings than any other race in the world—indeed, one Englishman is more dear to another than one frenchman is to another—have no faith in the good sense or moderation of the lower class of their countrymen. In the early days of British rule in India, Europeans were not permitted to settle in the country. They felt that the presence of Englishmen in the mofussil would result in the oppression of the "natives." Yet they settled in Bengal and the report of the Indigo Commission show that these non-official Anglo-Indians usurped the functions of the Government and treated the Bengalee peasants in a manner which led Sir J. P. Grant[১২] to declare with emphasis that "they (these peasant) were not Carolina slaves."

Now here are serveral mistakes, which we doubt if it is worth our while to expose ; they are so ludicrous, childish and self-contradictory. It is men like Sir J. P. Grant, who reduced flourshing industries to skeletons of their former selves, and killed enterprised springing up to take vigorous growth and add to the material prosperity of Bengal, and eventually, of India. In no sense, was Sir. John Peter Grant a successful legislator. His was a Government by mistakes and if he did liked our Bengal peasants to carolina slaves, his remark was that of a prejudiced, shallow minded man. As for his Indigo Commission, it was mainly a tissue of falsehoods by cultivators and police, alike bribed to destroy a

sturdy and remunerative industry. Then follows a statement by our contemporary :

"But really Englishmen feel that they need these seventy-five thousand soldiers, not on account of the fear of a Russian invasion, but because they have no faith in the attitude of many of their countrymen to-wards the people of this country. The belief that they entertain in their innermost souls is that, the Indians are in a state of chronic disaffection on account of the treatment that they receive from the hands of many of their unruly countrymen."

Our contemporary can scarcely be held responsible for such flimsy writing, nor can he have any conception how non-official are treated in Mofussil stations, unless possessed of coin, with a tendency to keep an open table. But this part of our subject we will reserve for another occasion.

14.3.1900

অর্থনীতি

[নির্দিষ্টভাবে অর্থনৈতিক নীতি বা সাধারণ অর্থনৈতিক বিষয়ে কোন রচনা 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-এ চোখে পড়েনি। তবে, কয়েকটি বিষয় যেমন অভিবাসন, বা কর ইত্যাদি বিষয়ে কিছু কিছু রচনা প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। এ ধরনের বিক্ষিপ্ত বচনাগুলিকে অর্থনীতি বিষয়ে সংকলিত কবা হয়েছে।

'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-এ অভিবাসন সংক্রান্ত বেশ কিছু রচনা প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। অভ্যন্তরীণ ও বহির্দেশে অভিবাসন দু'ক্ষেত্রেই তারা মতামত প্রকাশ করেছে তবে গুরুত্ব আবোপ করেছে সিলেটে চা-শ্রমিকদের অভিবাসনের ওপর। এর কারণ, 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-চা কর লবির সমর্থক ছিল।

অর্থনৈতিকভাবে দুস্থ এলাকা থেকে বিদেশে মজুর হিসেবে গমন বা অভিবাসন প্রক্রিয়া চলে আসছিল অনেকদিন থেকে। পশ্চিম ভারতীয় দ্বীপপুঞ্জ, মরিশাস, ফিজি প্রভৃতি অঞ্চলে প্রচুর ভারতীয় শ্রমিক হিসেবে গিয়েছিলেন। ১৮৩৩ সালে, ব্রিটিশ পার্লামেন্টে Emancipation Act পাশ হয় এবং এবং সিদ্ধান্ত নেয়া হয় ১৮৪০ সালের মধ্যে ব্রিটিশ সাম্রাজ্যে দাসপ্রথা অবলুপ্ত হবে। কিন্তু, ভারত বা অন্যান্য কালনীতে এক ধরনের পরোক্ষ দাসবৃত্তি চলছিল। বিভিন্ন কন্ট্রাক্ট ল'র অধীনে অভিবাসীদের দাস হিসেবেই কৃষিখাতে খাটানো হতো। যেমন, ভারতবর্ষে ১৮৫৯ সালের আইনের ১৩নং ধারায় কন্ট্রাক্ট ল' সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছিল –

"The word Contract used in this Act, shall extend to all contracts and agreements whether by deed, or written or verbal and whether such contract be for a term certain : or for specified work."[১]

অভিবাসী মজুরদের দাস হিসেবে ব্যবহার যে উদারনৈতিকদের দৃষ্টি এড়িয়ে গিয়েছিল তা' নয়। ভারতবর্ষ এবং ব্রিটেনে এর প্রতিবাদও হয়েছে কিন্তু কার্যত তাদের দুর্দশা মোচনে কোন ব্যবস্থা নেওয়া হয় নি। 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' ১৮৭৬ সালে এ ধরনের অভিবাসনের বিরোধিতা করেছে বিশেষ করে ফ্রান্সের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে। ব্রিটিশ কোন কলোনির কথা তারা উল্লেখ করেনি। কিন্তু, ফ্রান্সের করেছে বিভিন্ন কারণ দেখিয়ে যেসব কারণ ছিল ব্রিটেনের পক্ষেও প্রযোজ্য। এর কারণ, ফ্রান্সের সঙ্গে ব্রিটেনের বৈরিতা অনেক দিনের। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে পত্রিকাটি অভ্যন্তরীণ অভিবাসনের পক্ষে মত প্রকাশ করেছে এবং মন্তব্য করেছে এতে দেশ অর্থনৈতিকভাবে সমৃদ্ধ হবে।

সরকার অভ্যন্তরীণ অভিবাসনের ক্ষেত্রেও উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করেছিল। বিশেষ করে বার্মার ক্ষেত্রে এবং পরে সিলেট উপত্যকায় চা-করদের সুবিধার্থে রিচার্ড টেম্পলের সময় ১৮৭৪ সালে বাংলা থেকে বার্মায় অভিবাসনের উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করা হয়েছিল[২]।

চা-করদের অত্যাচার পত্র-পত্রিকায় প্রকাশিত হতে থাকলে সরকার মৌখিক চুক্তি বা ভারবাল কন্ট্রাক্ট বাতিল করে। এর ফলে কুলি সংগ্রহে চা-কবদের খরচ বেড়ে যায়। চা-লবির চাপের মুখে সরকার তখন অবাধ অভিবাসনে উৎসাহ যোগায় এবং ১৮৮১ সালে চা-করদের স্বার্থে ১৮৭৩ সালের আইনের সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব পেশ করা হয়। কাউন্সিলে এব বিরোধিতাও করা হয়, কৃষ্ণদাস পাল এটিকে 'স্লেভ অ্যাক্ট' বলে উল্লেখ করেন। কিন্তু আইনটি পাশ হয়। ১৮৮২ সালের Inland Immigration Act হিসেবে তা পরিচিত। এ আইনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বিভিন্ন উপায়ে দরিদ্র অঞ্চল থেকে কুলি সংগ্রহ করে চা বাগানগুলিতে পাঠানো হয়। পথিমধ্যে বহু শ্রমিক মারা যেত। কিন্তু সরকার এসব ব্যাপারে আর দায় দায়িত্ব গ্রহণ করেনি।[৩]

সরকারি করের মধ্যে আয়কর বা ইনকামট্যাক্স-ই সবচেয়ে বেশি বিতর্ক সৃষ্টি করেছিল। কাউন্সিলের প্রথম অর্থ সদস্য উইলসনের উত্থাপিত ইনকামট্যাক্স বিল ১৮৬০ সালের ২৪ মার্চ পরিণত হয়েছিল আইনে। কর আরোপের হার ছিল পাঁচশো রুপির ওপর ৪% এবং দুশো থেকে পাঁচশো রুপি আয়ের ওপর ২%। পাঁচ বছরের জন্য এ ব্যবস্থা বলবৎ হবে বলা হয়েছিল। কিন্তু, দু'বছরের মধ্যে ২% কর প্রত্যাহার করে নেওয়া হয়েছিল। ১৮৬৩ সালে ৪% কমিয়ে করা হয়েছিল ৩% এবং তার দু'বছরের মধ্যে তা নেয়া হয়েছিল সম্পূর্ণভাবে প্রত্যাহার করে।

১৮৬৯ সালে আবার ধার্য হয়েছিল আয়কর। ১৮৬৯ সালের ৯ আইনে পাঁচশো ও তদূর্ধ আয়ের ওপর ১% কর ধার্য করা হয়েছিল। এ আইনজাবী হওয়ার পাঁচমাসের মধ্যে আবার এ হার বৃদ্ধি কবা হয়েছিল .৫%–১.৫%। কোম্পানীর ক্ষেত্রে বলা হয়েছিলো এক রুপিতে কর হবে দুই পাই। ব্যক্তির ক্ষেত্রে পাঁচশো থেকে ১১০,০০০ রুপির ক্ষেত্রে নির্দিষ্টভাবে ধার্য করা হয়েছিল ৬ রুপি থেকে ১১৪০রুপি। ১৮৭৩ সালে এই আইন প্রত্যাহার করে পরে তা জারি করা হয়েছিল[৪]। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই ১৮৮০ সালে দেখি 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' ইনকামট্যাক্সের পক্ষে মৃদু সমর্থন করছে। কিন্তু, এখানে একটি বিষয় উল্লেখ্য। ভারতবর্ষে যখন আয়কর নিয়ে বিতর্ক চলছে, ইউরোপেই তখন এ সম্পর্কে তেমন কোন ধারণা ছিল না। সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ভারতবর্ষের কথা সহজেই অনুমেয়। এখানে ভারতীয় জমিদার, ইউরোপীয় ব্যবসায়ী, মধ্যশ্রেণী সবাই ছিল এর বিরুদ্ধে সোচ্চার। এবং ঐ সময় আয়করের বিরুদ্ধে দেশীয় ও 'অ্যাংলো' সম্পাদকরা যে 'অদৃশ্য' আঁতাত করে এর বিরুদ্ধে লড়েছিলেন সে রকম আঁতাত আর দু'পক্ষের মধ্যে কখনও হয় নি।]

সূত্র

১. উদ্ধৃত, অমর দত্ত, *আসামের চা-কুলি আন্দোলন ও দ্বারকানাথ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৭৮, পৃ. ২৪।
২. বাংলা থেকে বার্মায় অভিবাসন উৎসাহিত করার জন্য সরকার ফিলিপ নোলান-কে একটি রিপোর্ট দিতে বলেছিলেন। নোলান লিখেছিলেন, লোক এমনিতেই যাচ্ছে বার্মায়, এ ব্যাপারে তাই সরকারের নতুন করার কিছু নেই। তবে কিছু সুযোগ সুবিধা বৃদ্ধি করলে লোক আরো যাবে। অভিবাসনের একটি কারণ হিসেবে তিনি উল্লেখ করেছিলেন, রেঙ্গুনে মজুরি বেশি এবং খাদ্য দ্রব্য শস্তা, চট্টগ্রাম থেকে অধিকসংখ্যক মানুষ বার্মায় যাচ্ছিল তবে সরকার গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিল বেশি বিহারের ওপর কারণ, চট্টগ্রাম থেকে বিহারের মজুরি ছিল কম। Philip Nolan. *Report on Emigration from Bengal to Burma*. Calcutta. 1888
৩. বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন অমর দত্তের *প্রাগুক্ত* গ্রন্থের অষ্টম অধ্যায়।
৪. ইনকামট্যাক্স সংক্রান্ত তথ্য সমূহ নেয়া হয়েছে—Uma Dasgupta. '*Rise of an Indian Public*, Calcatta. 1977. Chapter. II

সংকলন

EMIGRATION

From returns lately published, we gather that, although the condition of the emigrant coolie has greatly improved during the last few years, it is undesirable to encourage emigration to any great extent. It appears that the largest proportion of coolies from the port of Calcutta consists of ... emigrants above forty. Males and female were about equal in 1874, and, as might be expected, there was a large mumber of children. Thus the coolie-emigrant although supplying the place of, and in performing labour formerly rendered by, slaves, enjoys privileges in the Isle of France equal to those he would receive as a labourer in his own country. His wife and children accompany him to his new home across seas, and according to the agreement entered into between the French and Britain Governments, every possible precaution is taken for the comfort and protection of the coolie. A free return passage was to be provided for him and his family, from whom he was not to be separated. It was also stipulated that they were to work only six days in the week, and that suitable clothing was to be given them. But the reverse side of the picture shows that, though the coolie possesses the blessing of freedom and is at liberty to leave his service after the expiration of the time for which he has contracted to serve ; he is not so valuable to his employer as a slave, therefore has not the same care bestowed on his welfare Under these circumstances and taking into consideration also the injurious effects often arising from a change of climate, the wisdom of encouraging emigration to the colonies is at best an open question. It is true that some Indian coolies have amassed respectable fortunes and that several, after a few years expatriation, have returned for their native country with the means of purchasing landed property, and living in comfort for the remainder of their lives,but it must be remembered that, the number of the fortunate ones compares very unfavourably with the hundreds who have either died, or enfeebled by ill-health, have dragged on a miserable existence and return to India finding themselves in a far worse plight than their stay at home brethren, who were in no haste to be rich. There are large tracts of uncultivated land in India, even in

the districts which furnish most of the coolies. In the North West, the Central Provinces, and Rajpootana, thousands of square miles extend covered with jungle awaiting the axe of the woodman and the labourer to give rich returns for the labour expended on their fertile soil. Various public works all over the famine-stricken districts of India testify to the usefulness of reclaiming this smiling land from the mass of uninhabitable forest, productive of malaria, and obstructive to the progress of civilization. It is the custom to speak of the teeming population of India, but any one who has seen a Mofussil town will hear witness to the fact that, were the suburbs of any populous city rendered fit for human habitation, we need have no more crowded bustees, or filthy smelling lanes,but each cottager's hut would have its won little piece of graden ground, and great would be the gain in health to the whole community. During times of epidemic the huts of our poor neighhours, huddled together like a flock of frightened sheep, render each homestead a destroying angel to the one nearest, and the contagion spreads with frightful rapidity until the last hut is reached and the last victim sacrificed to its fury. Instead of being tempted to emigrate to foreign lands, the labourer should be induced in open out fresh tracts at home and every facility should be afforded by Government for the cultivation of the waste lands, which now, instead of ministering to the good of all, afford amusement only to the adventurous sportsman, and a home for the preservation of the man eating tiger and other enemies of the human race.

28.6.1876

CURRENCY NOTES

Since the question of cashing currency notes in the Mofussil has cropped up, we have not read what we consider an intelligent exposition of the true merits of the case in any contemporaneous columus, though we had a right to expect something very imposing and convincing from the financial pretensions of some of the Metropolitan journals. There is no satisfactory explanation of this, unless we accept the fact as a judgement upon the presumptuous, as in the case of the Roman Christians in matters of doctrine. The *Statesman*, in particular, after remarking that, the Bank of Bengal, from its position as custodian of some of the Mofussil treasuries, appears to be blamed for the undue restrictions placed upon the cashing of currency notes in the Mofussil, understands that the duty of the bank is to cash notes at par from the treasury balances only when it is "authorized." And here our contemporary gives his reasons for the faith that is in him :—

"To expect the bank to do more than this is clearly absurd : as an inland exchange bank, or in any other capacity, it cannot be expected to use its own funds to cash notes for the public at par, when it has itself to insure the cost of specie remitences. ....

The Government undertakes to cash notes of any circle at any treasury in moderate amounts, for the convenience of *bona fide* traveller and to receive notes of any circle at its treasuries in payment of Government revenue ; but as regards cashing notes generally, to merchants or traders, the case is not on the same footing ....

... It is clearly not the duty of Government to supply silver all over the country, wherever it may be required in exchange for currency note as of any circle of issue."

As in most cases of a like nature, the pith and gist of the matter lies within a very narrow compass. The question at issue is—should or should not Government be prepared to take up its own paper and thus honour its own credit, in all circles, without exception. When we present a currency note at the treasury for coin, we de not seek to know what cash balance, or reserve, is in hand. It is enough for us that, our paper is genuine and has had full value paid for it. Government promises to pay the sum it represents on demand, not on demand at a particular, treasury or minus freight for carriage of specie—the amount is to be paid, if we require it in cash or in notes of smaller value without deduction or discount of any kind. Wherein then lies the absurdity of our expectation that Government, or some other person, having received from us the value in cash or kind of our note, we should in our turn receive its full value when presenting it for payment to the Government whose "on demand" draft it professes to be Government is either bound honourably to redeem its pledges or it is not : if not, the sooner the fact is known the more satisfied will the public feel. Then we have to enquire—can Government claim from the public to be reimbursed for its outlay in freight upon specie? We reply, decidedly not. In the first place, Government should be in a position to take up its own demand drafts on presentation with the same facility as any private bank cashes its won cheques, and to do this, should never be without a sufficient cash balance, no matter at what cost of freight nor should the question of freight be mooted any more than that of the cart-hire from the mint to the treasury, since, in accepting a currency note, the receiver takes it *ad valorm*, and so far from being mulcted in discount, should receive with it a premium credit. The treasury in issuing a note, may not have it presented for encashment months, possibly

for years. Meanwhile, it pays nothing in the way of interest, premium dicount is usually the case with a borrower, but when called upon to take up its bill meets it at par with the privilege of re-issuing it with out one fraction of outlay! We fancy the quarter percent chargeble as freight upon specie shrinks into pretty small dimension in the presence of such advantages, present and prospective. But we are at issue with our contemporary on other points. We believe it to be the unmistakable duty of Government to supply silver all over the country, if that mode of meeting its paper is the only one available to its resourcess—or to state honestly on the face of its presenters that they can be cashed at mofusil treasuries at a certain rate of discount. It is not to be denied that, the profits of the Paper Currency Department are large, as far ... very lacrative premia it receives in the money-order section—it should, consequently, be able to afford to do what private banks, upon far smaller returns are forced to do— to honour its own drafts. It is altogether a new feature in finance for a banking-establishment to issue paper-money at par and buy it back at a figure below its stated value. How would a private counting-houses stand, which refused to honour its own acceptances at maturity. To refuse to cash its own paper, may be in the power of Government, because by that means it enforces the transmission of specie all over the provinces and eventually pockets the freight thereon but we cannot persuade ourselves that, a similar attempt at discounting its won solvency, by a private firm, would result in much stability to its mercantile credit.

21 8 1878

LABOUR IMMIGRATION

In an official report issued respecting labour immigration into Assam for 1884, we come across facts pregnant with interest to tea planters. Firstly we learn that, Act I of 1882, worked smoothly during that year and no further objections were made to those already ... It is said that, the daily mail service on the Brahmputra proved a complete success, so far as 'its transport of coffee concerned and as a proof, we find that labourers despatched via Dhubri, in preference to those despathched via Goalundo, has in creased to 90 percent of total import with a tendency to increase so that very long shipping at Goalundo will cease of 26,010 coolies who started from Dhubri routes than 21,497 went by steamers of the daily mail service and the remainder by large steamers running single handed, when mail boats were unable to furnish accommodation for large numbers of immigrants accumulated in depots at

Dhubri. In February 1884, an amended set of rules relating to transport accommodation by water was published, embracing special provisions for the belief of mail steamers, as these vessels, because of their small size, could not comply with all requirements, enacted by the local Governments. In Novembers of that year, the River Steam Navigation Company seeing its steamers were of insufficient size to carry all coolies arriving daily at Dhubri, applied for certain concessions, such as a reduction of space allotted to each coolie, from 12 feet in summer and 10 feet in each winter to 10 feet in summer and 8 feet in winter. Unable to accede to this request, the chief Commissioner included February and March as cold-season, during which a maximum of space had hitherto been imperative, his concession was voluable. Average duration of a run between Dhubri and Dibrugarh in calculated to occupy four days and twenty one hours—a great improvement upon old times, when twelve and a half days were consumed ; while since a mail service has been introduced, the health of coolies has shown a decided improvement, as gauged by a death rate of 26 percent, instead of 62 and 71 percent as in 1882-83. In this matter of accelerated transport showing such advantageous results for the Assam valley in any respect participated in similar benefits. Immigration by country boats into Sylhet and Cachar has recently—during 1884, for example been attended by heavy mortality, heavier in fact than has ever yet been known, and Mr. Stevenson, Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, writes :—"The majority of the immigrants pass up in the months from February to May, precisely at the time when the rivers are at their lowest and cholera most prevalent". One reason of this may be found in an utter disregard of local regulations as reported by the sub-divisional officer of Karimgunge, where head-quarters being an the bank of the Kusiara river, afford him exceptional facilities for checking illegal boat-traffic according to law. This officer states that manjees defiantly set at naught license regulations in respect to boats carrying passengers in excess of twenty per boat, and that eleven such offenders having been prosecuted, eight were convicted and punished. Fewer cases having since been detected ; it is now exceptional to find boats carrying more than their licensed number-twenty—and the Deputy commissioner is of the opinion that no unlicensed boat should have more than ten passengers. Even licensed boats that carry a score, present ample opportunities for over-crowding. With every conceivable precautions to obviate or to diminish mortality *en route*, there seems to be a difficulty most baffling to humanity. As an instance, we quoted the case of one Sri Nath Das, a peon sent in charge of a batch of coolies by messes.

Here lal Mukerji, coolie contractors upon cholera breaking out, one suffers, badly attacked was landed on a sand-bank, on their trip upwards to Cachar, as past all hope of recovery, while this compatriots proceeded to their destination—a piece of cruelty that was perforce unpunished as its barbarous author upon his victims recovery had disappeared, leaving no trace of his identity, or of his home, save that she was believed to be a native at Jessore ... As regards country boat conveyance, the Deputy—Commissioner of Cachar is of opinion that some alterations is pressingly necessary, as, in consequence of the prevailing system of mortality both *en route* and as resulting from fatigue, exposure, and other incidents of the journey is excessive, and no remedy seems to suggest itself save altered conditions of travel . . All these matters duty weighed, the Deputy-Commissioner believes that chapter V of Act I of 1882, and the rules it comprehends, are simply a force, as far as Cachar is concerned.

3.2.1886

LABOUR IMMIGRATION

Resuming the subject of our remarks in a recent issue on labour immigration, we find on referring to last year's report that, so for back as August, 1884, Mr. Elliott drew the special attention of the Government of India to a necessity for amending Act I of 1882, so as to enable the Chief-Commissioner to exercise some control over all boats carrying not more than 20 persons. But this matter of amending the Act did not meet with the concurrence of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, who proposed instead improved steam communication between Goalundo and the Surma Valley. Meanwhile, we read, the question of establishing a daily accelerated steamer service between Naraingunj and the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, with a view to improve communication between these districts and Bengal, had come before Mr Ward shortly after making full enquiry as to a probability of planters making use of such a service for conveyance of labourers from Naraingunj or Goalundo, he decided to offer a subsidy to the India General Steam Navigation Company if it would start an accelerated daily steamer service which would carry labourers via the Kusiara river from Naraingunj to Karimganj during the dry season in two days, and to Silchar in the wet season in three days, calling at all principal stations en route to enable coolies destined for Sylhet gardens to disembark. We may expect to see this new service before long, as both the Director-General of Post Offices and the Government of Bengal have agreed to contribute to the subsidy. The India General

Steam Navigation Company has asked to be allowed to run its new service from Goalundo instead of from Naraingunj ; but a railway steamer service is already running between these two stations and before a change can be made in the present proposed route, the Government of India in the Public Works Department must be consulted. to any one who has witnessed transhipment of coolies from one steamer to another it will be needless to explain that much loss of time and expenditure of unparliamentary language will be avoided by carrying out this proposal of the India General Steam Navigation Company. A trifling difference in cost of importing coolies by steamer instead of by boat will no doubt be willingly met by the planters, who suffer much inconvenience by mortality occurring *en route* owing to the present slow rate of travelling *until* this proposed change can be effected, a strict look-out must be kept on all boats comming up the Kusiara river, and all *manjhis* who carry more than 20 perosons must be prosecuted. There is an obstacle existing which will impede the authorities in their attempts to punish a contravention of prohibitory regulations, in the fact that *manjhis* can easily avoid landing their passengers at places where there is a Magistrate. Opinion is widely divided regarding the popularity of Act I of 1882, some officials being of opinion that increased-experience of its working has had the result of making employers of labour more anxious for its repeal, and also, that the Act labourers, if capable of forming and expressing an opinion would be of a like mind. There is a general tendency among managers to free themselves from its restraints, as far as possible, by employing only free coolies. A labourer rarely, if ever, avails himself of any of the provisions of this Act in his favour, and a planter never of those which are conceived in his, excepting that one great lever, conferring upon him a power of arrest without warrant. On the other hand, the Deputy-Commissioner of Sibsagar writes that there seems to be a general feeling, in spite of some assertions contrariwise, that the Emigration Act provides substantial benefits for an employer to be weighed against returns and inspections which are said by some to be a severe trial of the tea-planter's patience. After a careful consideration of arguments put forward on both sides, Mr. Ward, officiating Chief-Commissioner, doubts very much whether employers of labour are anywhere in the province anxious for a total repeal of this Act and he is inclined to doubt very much whether any such general desire exists in the planting community, and has little doubt that both employer and labourer would suffer considerably if this Act were altogether repealed. What an employer really wants is an amendment of the Act and a relaxation of rules issued under it, which

will give him more freedom of action, subject him to less interference on the part of Government in the details of garden administration, and exempt him from a liability to keep up and prepare and submit troublesome registers and returns. Briefly, what is wanted is this—a freedom from fetters unnecessarily imposed by law, through the agency of which any employer of labourers may be harassed to pecuniary loss, inconvenience, and eventually to cancelment of desirable contracts at the caprice of a so-called protector, whose chief protection not exceptionally centres in a careful study of graden roads and a calculation of distances, in view to travelling allowance. No experienced planter in the midst of well thought out plans likes to be interfered with, to the loss of time and patience, by having his attention drawn to requisitions demanding paltry and vexatious details of an uninteresting and generally useless character, such as he has to furnish under legal enactment. He is a far better judge, with his score or more years of experience, regarding coolie needs, than Government, and naturally resents meaningless interference.

10.2 1886

INCOME TAX

While our contemporaries in Calcutta and other centres of intelligence have displayed an almost savagely forensic intellegence in proving to demonstration why the income tax which has just passed into law should not be imposed, until at least every other means shall have been exhausted of realising an income sufficient to meet increased expenditure necessary for fortifying our borders against foreign invasion, we have contented ourselves rather with giving our readers the benefit of opinions expressed in other columns than our wcn. Ever since any kind of impost has taken the forn of systematised machinery for the realisation of revenue to a State, direct taxation has been unpopular, and the history of all taxation in India has been not seldom proved to be a record of oppression modified by real or fancied outrage on public intelligence. We have never yet heard or read of a direct tax that may be said to have been received with approval, and few, very few have been introduced into this country, without a demonstration of public feeling in protest. Without staying to investigate into the causes or consequences of these demonstrations, without questioning their wisdom, policy, or necessity, is inevitable in every civilised land, where a Government is bound to support its establishments, naval, military, ecclesiastical and civil. If we once admit this principle and it does not seem to us possible to evade

it, if we mean to face the problem honestly, almost all that remains to discuss resolves itself into a question of degree and expediency. That taxes are unavoidable, may be accepted as one of the conditions of civilised existence, and a most important element in politico-economical principles, however intolerant a community may show itself of them ; and thus much admitted, we can simply apply ourselves to an examination into the extent to which they are necessary, and as to what form they should assume, regard being had to the circumstances and prospects of those called upon to defrary them, and any objection taken to the present income tax, we presume must be primarily based upon one or other of these two propositions. If then, we set ourselves the task of enquiring whether the amount anticipated be really necessary, we are almost necessarily precipitated into other departments of investigation, such for instance, as expenditure and income, credit and debit. But, though such considerations must come within the range of practical policies, we need not interfere with them for any purpose of our present commentary, not need we enquire whether the policy of Government, which has been the precursor of this individual tax and must consent to pose as the underlying cause of other imposts, we fear—has been founded upon right or worng principles. It seems to suggest itself as enough for our purpose to admit that, whatever may have been the discussion upon Lord Lytton's Afghan policy, a concensus of Anglo-Indian opinion was understood to be as significant of approval at its inception, as it would possibly be felt to be disapproved, were any effort to reverse it attempted, even though its existence were to engraft itself on a principle of permanent direct taxation If then, it be inexpedient, or impracticable to retrace that policy, and equally impracticable to avoid or to diminish the necessary expenditure it involves in connection with measures deliberately adopted in virtue of that policy, an appeal is directed to our patriotism as Anglo-Indians to place this country in as favourable a state of security from foreign attack as our means will admit of supplementing to Government. Now, as, obviously, our interest and our duty both point to a necessity for enhanced expenditure of funds, it must follow that, whether by this or any other instrumentality, the money must be raised, and that, to raise it, taxation is our only safe resort. It may, however, be noted that, even necessity being admitted, we may well question the form that direct taxation should assume and the direction it should take. A Bombay paper gives, as posessing "a melancholy interest" for its readers, the following table showing how much all, except military officers, who are in receipt of more than Rs. 500 a month, above which figure the 5 pies per rupes rate applies, will have to pay towards the new Income Tax :

Income	Tax	per	month.	Tax	per	Year.
Rs.	Rs.	As.	P	Rs.	As.	P.
200	5	3	4	62	8	0
300	7	10	0	93	12	0
400	10	6	8	125	0	0
500	13	0	4	156	4	0
600	15	10	0	187	8	0
700	18	3	8	218	12	0
800	20	13	4	250	0	0
900	23	7	0	281	4	0
1,000	26	0	8	312	8	0
1,100	28	10	4	345	12	0
1 200	31	4	0	375	0	0
1,300	33	13	8	406	4	0
1,400	36	7	4	437	8	0
1,500	39	1	0	468	12	0
2,000	52	1	4	625	0	0
2,500	65	1	8	781	4	0
3,000	78	2	0	937	8	0
4,000	104	2	4	1,250	0	0
5,000	130	3	8	1,562	8	0

10 2.1886

EXTERNAL TRADE OF BENGAL

Last year, very few changes were made in arrangement for collecting statistics of trade with Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, and Bhutan, and ... desearding Padong, Laba, and Rangit as stations for Tibet trade, (though they were retained for other purposes). Total number of stations thus became forty-three—viz—, Nepal trade posts thirty four ; Tibet, two posts ; Sikkim, four posts ; Bhutan, three posts. Figure relating to Tibet trade shown in this report are for a complete year—1898-99. Since issue of Government (of India's) Resolution No. II, dated 14th June, 1876, prescribing classification of articles in accounts of frontier trade, various amendments have been made from time to time, and our Director-General of Statistice has refused a revised list, embodying all corrections made up to 1st April, 1899. He has also extended to all provinces two heads "Apparel" and "Paper," which were in 1876, restricted to Burma. Copies of this modified list have been forwarded to seven frontier district Officers, and they have been requested to issue instructions for registration of traffic in two new heads from 1st April, 1899. It will be seen that gross value of trade during 1898 and 99, was 5.4 percent, below totals of 1897/98, but 2.4 percent, over those of 1896/97. Decrease was entirely in *export* figures for last year being 14.2 percent. less than those for 1897/98 ; but in

comparison with 1896/97, they showed an increase of 2.9 percent. Causes of fluctuations are explained in certain sections of a report before us which deals with each State separately. Figures given in paragraph II, relating to Nepal trade, include statistics of trade between that State and other provinces in British India, which passed through registration stations in Bengal. Total value of this traffic during last year, as compared with figures of preceding two years, is shown separately as follows : In 1896/97, Imports into other provinces from Nepal, Rs. 41,307 ; Exports frem other provinces to Nepal, Rs. 285,757. In 1897/98, imports, Rs. 13,726 ; exports, 301,138. In 1898/99, imports, 26,961 ; exports, 443,914. Largest increase occurred in exports from Cawnpore of raw cotton (from Rs. 3,303 to Rs. 63,287). Indian twist and yarn (from nothing to Rs. 99,856) and European twist and yarn (from Rs. 3,127 to Rs. 26,365) ; Figures under head "O her kinds of animals, rose from Rs. 12,230 to Rs. 43,556, chief source of supply being Lucknow. Exports of European piece goods, however, fell of from Rs. 25,472 to Rs. 70,653 and those of Indias piece goods from its. 140,540 to Rs. 86,666 in 1898-99. In this latter case, Ghazipur and Gorakhpur showed largest decrease.There has been, however, a large increase in export of piece-goods registered as coming from this province Bangal. No trade is carried on between other provinces and these three other Frontier States. No trade with China through Tibet was registered during 1897-98 and 1898/99, but praticulars for 1896/97 are given in section III of this report. Of thirty-four stations at which this trade is registered, owing to rains, Patardawn, in Purnea district, remained closed for six month viz, from 1st June to 30th November, 1898, and Sukiapukri and Karjulla, in Darjeeling district, for three months, from 16th June to 15th September, 1898. A statement we give here shows total value of imports from and exports to Nepal, during three years past, exclusive of trade between that State and other British Indian Provinces which passed through Bengal : 1896/97. Imports for Nepal Rs. 14.408 086 : in 1896/97, Imports for Nepal, Rs. 14,408,086 ; in 1897/98. Rs. 14.567, 183 ; in 1898/99, Rs. 14,414 430. In 1886/97. Exports to Nepal. Rs. 11,888 760 ; in 1897/98, Rs. 14,594,634 ; in 1898/99, Rs. 11 399 933. In 1896/97, Total, Rs. 26. 296,846 ; in 1897/98, Rs. 29.251,817 ; in 1898/99, Rs. 25,814,363. Aggregate value of last years trade, we learn, decreased by 11.7 percent and 1.8 percent, as compared with 1897/98 and 1896/97, respectively. Import trade showed a falling off of 1.2 percent on returns of 1897/98, but it was very nearly similar to that in 1896/97. In export trade, figures exhibited a decrease of 22.2 percent in comparison with 1897/98

and of 4.1 percent on totals for 1886/97. Greatest decrease in import traffic was in silver (Rs. 658 661). rice 102 718 maunds) owing to non-existence of famine ; hides (94 643 pieces), miscellaneous rain crops, (73,584 maund), tobacco, (68,876 maunds), and fibre, other than raw jute (13 249 maund) whilst chief articles of increase were paddy. 138,471 maunds), linseed, (136,258 maunds) miecellaneous spring crop, (35,398 maunds), and mustard seed, (29,110 maunds). In exports, there was a considesable falling-off under silver, of thirty lakhs, or nearly a difference between total exports of two years. In fact, decrease in import and export of silver is greater than total decrease in returns of last year. Salt showed a decrease of 53,974 maunds and tobacco, of 24,632 maunds, while manufactured woollen goods rose in value from Rs. 36,902 in 1897/98. to Rs. 48,400 in 1898/99

17.2.1900

রাজনীতি

['বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-এ ইলবার্ট বিল নিয়েই নির্দিষ্ট রাজনৈতিক আলোচনা হয়েছিলো।

১৮৮২ সালের ৩০ জানুয়ারি বিহারীলাল গুপ্ত নামে একজন আই সি এস অফিসার বাংলা সরকারের কাছে এক নোটে প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে লিখেছিলেন, প্রশাসনে অংশগ্রহণের অধিকার যদি ভারতীয়দের থাকে তা'হলে লর্ড মেয়োর মৃত্যুর পর পাশকৃত ১৮৭২ সালের আইন অনুযায়ী গ্রামাঞ্চলে ইউরোপীয়দের ওপর ভারতীয় প্রশাসকদের কর্তৃত্ব না দেওয়া অযৌক্তিক। এই নোট বিভিন্ন পর্যায় পেরিয়ে উচ্চতর পর্যায়ে পৌঁছার পর সামগ্রিকভাবে পর্যালোচনা করে, বর্ণের ভিত্তিতে বিচারের নীতিমালা বিলুপ্ত করার জন্যে পরিষদে ২.২.১৮৮৩ সালে স্যার কোর্টনি ইলবার্ট যে বিলটি উত্থাপন করেছিলেন তাই পরিচিত ইলবার্ট বিল নামে।

ইলবার্ট জোর দিয়ে বলেছিলেন, আইনকে যদি স্থায়ী এবং সন্তোষজনক করতে হয় তাহলে বর্ণভিত্তিক যেসব আইন আছে তা বিলুপ্ত করতে হবে।

ভারতীয়রা প্রথমে এ বিষয়ে উচ্চবাচ্য করেনি। কিন্তু, অ্যাংলো ইন্ডিয়ান সমাজ এ বিলকে নিজেদের সম্প্রদায়ের ওপর আঘাত হিসেবে মনে করেছিলো। এর মনস্তাত্ত্বিক কারণ, নিজেদের তারা দেখেছিলো প্রভু হিসেবে, সুতরাং প্রজাদের সঙ্গে তাদের সমতা থাকতে পারে না। এ ছাড়া অর্থনৈতিক কারণও ছিল না তা' নয়। ব্যবসায়ী, নীলকর এরা আইনগত যে সব সুযোগ সুবিধা ভোগ করতো এ বিল পাশ হলে তা বিলুপ্ত হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা ছিল।

এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ইংরেজ মালিকানাধিন ইংরেজি পত্রিকা [বিপক্ষে] ও বাঙালি মালিকানাধিন বাংলা পত্রিকাগুলির [পক্ষে] মধ্যে শুরু হয়েছিলো তুমুল বাক-বিতণ্ডা। এক কথায় বলা যায়, ইলবার্ট বিল পাশ হওয়ার পর, এ দেশীয়দের ক্ষোভ সংহত ও সংগঠিত ভাবে একটি লক্ষ্যে অগ্রসর হয়েছিলো যার পিছে ছিল আত্মমর্যাদার প্রশ্ন। ইলবার্ট বিলের সময় ইংরেজদের আন্দোলন, মধ্যবিত্ত বাঙ্গালিকে নাড়া দিয়ে তার মধ্যে জাগিয়ে তুলেছিলো আত্মমর্যাদার প্রশ্ন। কারণ, ইংরেজরা যেভাবে এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে নিজেদের সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ও বর্ণবাদী মুখোশ উন্মোচিত করেছিলো তার তুলনা বিরল। লড রিপনকে তারা আখ্যায়িত করেছিলো 'বাবু রিপন' বলে। অন্যদিকে ভারতীয়রা রিপনকে বসিয়েছিলো দেবতার আসনে। লিখেছেন একজন ইংরেজ ঐতিহাসিক —

". these people [বিরুদ্ধবাদীরা] together with the mercantile community of Calcutta started the same kind of agitation against Lord Ripon that they had directed previously against Lord Canning, and the controversey, which was conducted with the utmost

bitterness spread to England and was taken by the press and in Parliament. A European Defence association was started, and one hundred and fifty thousand rupees were subscribed towards it. Eventually the bill was amended so as to give Europeans the right of claiming trial by jury in criminal cases. The agitation, with all the racial antipathies which it *aroused* was singularly ill judged and provoked the keenest resentment among educated Indians, who rightly regarded it as a slur on their integrity. On the other hand, it made the viceroy a popular hero in Indian eyes and extraordinary demonastration of affection took place at the time of his retirement.[১]

এ প্রসঙ্গে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় লিখেছিলেন তাঁর আত্মজীবনীতে —

"The Illbert Bill controversy helped to intensify the growing feeling of unity among the Indian people. The Anglo-Indian community had formed the Defence Association with its branches in different parts of the country ... The educated community all over India watched the struggle with interest. There was Illbert Bill agitation with all its development taking place before their eyes They could not remain insensible to the lesson that it taught, of combination and organization ; a lesson ... which in case was enforced amid conditions that left a yankling sense of humiliation in the mind of educated India. It was however fistful of results. It strengthened the forces that were speeding up the birth of congress movement ; and as I have observed, before the year was out the first national conference was held in calcutta.In its organization I had no inconsiderate share *qucrum magna parsful.* It was the reply of educated India to the Illbert Bill agitation, a reasonant blast on their golden trumpet ..."[২]

এ পারিপ্রেক্ষিতে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের উদ্যোগে ১৮৮৩ সালে জাতীয় তহবিল গঠন করা হয় ও সারা ভারতের প্রতিনিধিরা কলকাতায় মিলিত হন [Indian National Conference] এর দু'বছর পর গঠিত হয় জাতীয় কংগ্রেস। অমলেশ ত্রিপাঠি নানা তথ্য প্রমাণ ঘেটে এ সিদ্ধান্তে পৌঁছেছেন যে, জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের প্রতিষ্ঠাতা হিসেবে যে হিউমের কথা উল্লেখ করা হয় তা ঠিক নয়। তিনি সুরেন্দ্রনাথকেই মনে করেন কংগ্রেসের প্রতিষ্ঠার উদগাতা।

প্রথম পর্যায়ে কংগ্রেস সম্পর্কে যে অনেকের সন্দেহ ছিল না তা'নয়। ইংরেজ শাসকরা সংগঠনটি পছন্দ করেন নি। পরবর্তীকালে অবশ্য দেখি, জাতীয় পর্যায়ের নেতারা কংগ্রেসে যোগ দিচ্ছেন। তবে, ১৯ শতক পর্যন্ত কংগ্রেস আবেদন-নিবেদনের রাজনীতিই করে গেছে এবং ক্রমেই এ ধারা দুর্বল হয়ে পড়ে, কারণ, ত্রিপাঠির ভাষায়, "ভারতের জনচিত্তে কংগ্রেসের শিথিল মূল।"[৩]

বেঙ্গল টাইমস কংগ্রেসের পক্ষে ছিল না। তাই সুযোগ পেলেই কংগ্রেস ও কংগ্রেস সমর্থকদের বিরুদ্ধে বিরূপ মন্তব্য করেছে। ১৮৮৮ সালের এলাহাবাদ কংগ্রেস সম্পর্কে একটি সংবাদ সংকলিত হয়েছে যার সভাপতি ছিলেন জর্জ ইউল। এই বছরই স্যার সৈয়দ আহমদ কংগ্রেস বিরোধিতা শুরু করেন। ঢাকার একজন মুসলমান নেতা হেদায়েত বক্স কংগ্রেসকে সমর্থন করায় 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' মন্তব্য করেছে "Hidyat is a loafer, a very little better, who will speak any lie in public for which he is paid; he is a man of no character and the associates of those who have nothing to lose and every thing to gain." এর দু'বছর পর ঢাকার ফুলবাড়িয়ায় কংগ্রেস বিরোধী একটি সভা অবলোকন করে উল্লাসে মন্তব্য করে, "congress-wallahs are seditionists in politics and renegades in religion." *বেঙ্গল টাইমস,* কংগ্রেস সম্পর্কে লিখতে গিয়ে যেসব মন্তব্য করেছে তাই ছিল ভারতীয়দের প্রতি ইংরেজদের সাধারণ দৃষ্টিভঙ্গির নির্যাস এবং তাদের রাজনীতিও প্রভাবিত হতো সেই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি দ্বারা।]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. H. G. Rawlinson, The British Achievment in India, উদ্ধৃত, বিনয় ঘোষ, *সাময়িকপত্রে বাংলার সমাজচিত্র,* ৪র্থ খণ্ড, কলকাতা, ১৯৬৬, পৃ. ৯৯৮–৯৯১।

২. Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*. London, 1925, p. 85.86
বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন —
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৩. বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, অমলেশ ত্রিপাঠী, *স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে ভারতের জাতীয় কংগ্রেস,* কলকাতা, ১৪০২।

সংকলন

(Continued from our last)

ILBERT BILL MEETING

Mr. Kemp, resuming—"We have but to cause Government to perceive that, we are determined of purpose,and will not budge an iota from our resolution, to compel its acquiescence with our most just and lawful wishes. It cannot deny our demand, because, what we claim is our own, and we have only to show that, we are *bound* to maintain our rights, and that we will not concede them, to force from Government an acknowlegment of the strength of our position. One of the strangest anomalies of the many that meet us in this obnoxious Bill, is that, while Government is bent upon a course which is clearly unlawful, the opposition that has been so bitterly stigmatized as disloyal, has neither by word nor act, asked Government to do more than refrain from invalidating rights by constitutional law created and confirmed. It has striven to convince us by various so-called arguments that, the time has come for the change it contemplates making, without being in a position to point out any occasion for such change, while the frivolous pleas of convenience and political expediency it ventured to advance, were scattered to the four winds of Heaven, almost as soon as introduced, by men of known ability and large experience. One plea remains, that of equality,and as to this, I have a few observations to make. It has been contended by pro-Ilbertites and native papers, by whomever edited, that in the sight of God and before the law, all men are equal. Doubtless, there are very few among us here today, in a hurry to test the first problem by a practical solution, and as to the second, we can but judge by facts. And as our opponents have appealed to Caesar, by Cæsar let them be judged. Turning to Section 640 of the code of civil procedure, I find that women whose custom it is, not to appear in public by compulsion of social demands, "*shall* be exempt from personal appearance in Court" though they are subject to "arrest in execution of civil process." Note the wording of this section—"*shall be exempt*, not *may*, but *shall* : there is no option, it is not permissive but imperative, it is not optional, but an absolutely acknowledge privilege, secured by

legislative enactment. It is useless to contend that some such women do attend court in a palanquin, to give evidence. You know very well, Gentlemen, that very often, half the value of evidence lies in expressiveness and impressiveness of demeanour ; and how can you judge of one's demeanour who is buried within the recess of a palanquin or doolie ; nay, how is it possible to identify such a witness? But some one may retort, surely her husband can be summoned to identify her. Not so. Turning to section 641 of the same code, I find that, if he belong to a certain rank, he also can claim exemption from attendance at Court. Now, neither our wives, not sisters, nor daughters can claim this privilege, although we are the masters of India. Any litigiously disposed, revengeful menial, may drag our wife or a female relative into court upon the most frivolous pretext, but nobody can do as much with a Native lady, or a male native of rank, though her or his evidence may be vitally essential. For want of it, our cause may be lost. We shall pay our money and look pleasant, all the more so, perhaps, when we reflect that, in the eye of the law all men stand upon so perfect all equality. (laughter) But, Gentlemen, this is only one of numberless instances I can adduce of the perfection of a system of equalizing men and things, it was destined by Providence for Lord Ripon to improve and amplify, (Laughter) I have been careful in directing your attention to this theory of equality, because it accentuates, ironically, the present attitude of Government, which professes to cancel all distinction between Native and European Magistrates and judges, while it widens the gap between non-officials of both races. Englishmen are given a jury—what they never asked for, Natives are out—another cause of friction and fretfulness. Our worthy Chairman has just told us that, trial by jury has no finality, and so far as a Sessions court, other than a High Court, is concerned, he is perfectly correct. It is just this want of finality that may make all the difference between justice and its converse. An innocent man acquited of a non-bailable offence by a majority of his countrymen, may have his case referred to the High Court by the Magistrate trying him—he being in simple imprisonment meanwhile ; or in a case pending final orders, he may even, as now, actually have to serve out a term of punishment, because of unnecessary and vexatious delays purposely interposed, and finally be pronounced innocent. But we are now considering only our aspect of this question—where a European jury as possible. How, will it be, Gentlemen, in the numerous places in Mofussil districts, where a European jury cannot be empanelled? Many such cases must occur, and as a jury is a necessity, even in cases tried by European Magistrates, I can but suppose, and doubtless you will agree with

me, that this multiplied difficulty, this complex system, is another of those plastic agencies for simplifying the administration of justice, upon which Mr. Ilbert so fondly dwelt in his Objects and Reasons. (laughter). And what is the principle that underlies that infamous piece of legislation? Perhaps, Gentlemen, some of you have been able to discover it, or may have heard of some one who has (laughter) I have been less fortnnate. It seems to me it demands nothing short of a recession from our rights. What can we understand by the statement that, no other Native than a district Magistrate, or a Native District Judge can exercise criminal jurisdiction over European british subjects? If this be so, what have we been fighting for all this long while? Is not this conceding to Government an adhesion to the miserable vaunt of a principle of justice, pro-Ilbertities pretend lies kernelled at the root of this Bill ? Is it not an acknowledgement that, in contending we should submit to be tried by nobody but our peers, we mistook our own intentions, and miscalculated our own rights ? If we accept this do we not admit we have all along been battling for a shadow ? To say that a majority try us. is the shallowest of all possible devices. We have hitherto maintained that extended criminal jurisdiction to Natives which can empower them to try European British subjects will never be tolerated, while there is a European in the country, and when government by throwing a sop to us by way of a jury—which we never sought—maintains that Natives *shall* exercise this extended jurisdiction, those supposed to represent our best interests, exclaim gleefully that, the arrangement is eminently satisfactory. (Applause.) I am unable to coincide in this view. To my mind such an anomaly is the most fatal, the most irreconcileable with our wishes. It would seem that the opposition has given ground. Evidently, the presiding magistrate or Judge may be a native—not a European British subject—and although the trial may be hedged round with a certain amount of protection, the principle remains in tact and it is to this principle that I take exception. In point of fact, we have conceded a principle we have all along declared we would uphold with our lives." After some further remarks, the speaker resumed his chair, amidst continued applause. Mr. Wilson then called upon Baboo Basanto Coomar Bose for any remarks he might desire to make, who, in effect observed : Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, though no orator, I feel it my duty to respond to our Chairman's invitation. The Ilbert Bill is a measure not sought by Natives, and we know how distasteful it is to Europeans, who see in it, a deprivation to them of a jealously-gnarded right. Were our rights assailed, we should be very indignant, and it is only fair to admit that, we should resist their

invasion with as much vehemence as Europeans have manifested in protecting theirs. Seeing the unfortunate results to which the Bill, if passed, is likely to lead and the good policy of maintaining friendly relations between the two races, I am of opinion that Government would be better able to promote kindly feeling between Natives and Europeans, were the measure withdrawn. It can do us no good, and our European friends consider it injures them. Why, then, should we seek to force upon them a deprivation we should resent in our own case? (Applause.) Far better for all concerned, that this bone of contention be removed, and Europeans and Natives resume their good understanding, I am opposed to every form of administration that aims at depriving any one of his rights, and consequently, upon principle, I do not favour as I cannot approve, Mr. Ilberts Bill. I do not believe that any Native really in his heart approves of it. Many of my countrymen, intelligent and thinking men, believe as I do. (Applause.) The Chairman then read out the following resolution : "While we consider that, any compromise as now proposed by Government, touching the Ilbert Bill, is undesirable, being an infringement of our rights, we would, for the present, place ourselves in the hands of the Council of the Defence Association, Calcutta, in respect to our attitude of opposition, pending further information as to the terms of accept once proposed." Mr. Finlayson having proposed and Mr. Kemp seconded it, the resolution was unanimously carried. Three cheers were then given for the Defence association at Home and that in Calcutta ; for Mr. Atkins ; for those members of council who opposed the Bill ; for Mr Keswick, the uncrowned King ; for the press, and in especial the *Englishman* and *Bengal Times*. [A voice—Gentlemen—let us give to each one his due—three groans for Lord Ripon.] These were given. *God save the Queen* followed, when all adjourned to a sumptuous and liberally provided lunch, to which ample justice was done.

2.1.1884

ILBERT BILL

Now that the strom of angry discussion and race-animosity, which characterized the introduction of what every grade of Europeans British society in this country can never cease to regard as a piece of legislation that must associate its authors and promoters with lasting infamy ; now, that the notorious and disgraceful Ilbert Bill has passed, even in a multilated and hybrid form, a few reflections upon its general tendency and the fallacious nature of some arguments it advocates set forth as unanswerable, and which they may,

in their demoralized state of feeling and thought, have felt to be impregnable to assault—may not be amiss, as illustrative of the extreme folly—to call it by no harsher term—that accentuated each stage of the very bitter controversy that raged and inflamed public indignation from March to December of last year. After all that can be said in its favour is exhausted, its staunchest friends must admit that the Criminal Jurisdiction Bill is intended to meet requirement's which, a possible future may develop, but was and is, as Act which, gauged in its most favourable aspect, could never have been viewed by its most devoted partiasan as a pressing necessity in the present, or in the near future, since no one has pretended to maintain, after the first imbecile arguments of Mr. Ilbert's and Lord Ripon's sycophants were torn to shreds, that any serious obstacle will arise in administering criminal law, for very many years to come—if ever—by opening appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service of India to Natives. Why then were peace and good-will sacrificed for this piece of diabolical legislation ; this crude fancy of a make-believe statesman, who, while throwing a sop to Natives in a premature, unprincipled, and spurious system of alleged legislative reform, which contemplates an impracticable scheme of local self Government, and a shameful attempt at compromising British *prestige*, by an imperishably infamous and unprincipled Bill to amend criminal procedure, seeks to rob our Native gentry of their ancestral property, by a project which, apart from its ludicrous injustice, exhibts in all its parts, an utter want of decent regard to truth and honesty? Well may we ask—why this toughness? Well may we read and stand aghast, at the argnments published in Lord Ripon's behalf, representing a species of reasoning, we have no hesitation in styling the weakest we have ever seen offered for legislation of so grave and radical a character, affecting as it does, the liberties, rights, and moral influence of every Englishman in the country—every link of a chain necessary to the strength, safety, and development of an Empire won by British valour and retained by British generosity. To the enterprising British capitalist is due India's vast and increasing trade, and to him will be traced its presens progress and future extension. Not an inch of land has he taken from any existing industry to appropriate to his own , nay, contrariwise, we may say that, in promoting his own projects, he has but electrified into existence other schemes of progressive development which have assumed colour and consistency, have taken from and direction from his restless energy and unquenchable seal. And is this the man upon whom any government would force an Act, distasteful and degrading—unjust, insulting, and outrageous? Naturally, the argument will arise—Why,

if we profess to admit Natives of India into our covenanted services, should we take exception to their discharging those duties which are inseparable from their office? and indeed, this is a contention we have seen raised by writers who regard it as unassailable. Our reply simply is—firstly, when the Civil Service was opened to Native competition, when our most gracious and well-beloved Queen-Empress proclaimed that race distinction should thereafter be abolished as an impediment of nominations to branches in our public service, Europeans in India were not consulted, and consequently, were debarred the privilege of counselling their rulers ; secondly, that, no legislation that is based upon the principles of abstract justice can contemplate depriving a lion-hearted race of constitutional and inherent rights, for a sentiment ; so that it may, by insidious means, be lowered to a social and political status with another race wanting in all those qualities which might help to create a duplicate or are likely to assimilate with a contrast. This is, however, exactly what Government has sought to do, upon grounds the most frivolous and revolting to self-esteem, basing its stand upon Her Majesty's Proclamation of 1858, which, in reality, helps the discussion from no point of view—our good and just Queen merely expressing a hope that, "so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability or integrity duly to discharge." Now, neither in its language nor in its spirit, can such an indication of Her Majesty's gracious wish be interpreted to mean more than that, admission to the public service should be narrowed to a test of eligibility, confining itself to a question of time, fitness, and seasonableness—but not extending to a consideration of depriving any one of existing rights and privileges, which, were they not legally enacted, would still be prescriptive by right of long usage. Hence has arisen much of the war that for ten months ... Indian society, and roused the worst passions of Anglo-Indian nature—a war which this journal was the first to organise, by exciting contemporary journals to ventilate the measures of Government and to denounce them with an incisiveness and sequential reasoning that simply defied attack, and bore down opposition with irresistible power and weight. The lengths to which such a contention— fiery and implacable, as it grew to be—might be carried, none could foretell yet we do not in the least regret having stimulated our brethren to an opposition that galvanized all Anglo India into co-operative sympthy in defence of but common rights. We do not care to revive ought that can give our Native friends an instant's pain, and in fact, have never done so with test

motive ; yet, it must suggest itself as the merest affectation of delicacy on our part, to omit repeating that, the clause—"so far as may be," if taken in connection with the conditions of character for efficiently assuming responsibilities which, the best of men feel to be heavy, offers an effectual barrier to reconciliation with a capability " duly to discharge" the functions of sitting in judgment upon Europeans, so often and so loudly claimed by natives. We could not honestly charge natives with want of education, or ability ; and in some instances, we may fairly add that their integrity will stand a severe test, but this is not what we should look for, as qualifying them for depriving Europeans of cherished rights and immunities they have enjoyed for generations past, and which they have shown so determined a reluctance to concede. Before any one of these rights can be taken from them, several propositions demand to be established beyond all reasonable doubt, such, for example, as undeniable proof that the possession of any or of all have become a source of injustice to our Native subjects ; that the administration of law had become difficult, costly, or impracticable, and that our countrymen—whose interests alone were at stake—were willing to place their liberties—possibly, their lives—in hands till now comparatively untried. Not one of these several propositions has been submitted to the only test susceptible of demonstrating its reality—hence a resistance that threatened to formulate into a serious obstacle to the adminstration of criminal justice. And to contend that the outcry raised was not justified by the extent or scope of the Bill, in no way, can be held to relieve Government of the responsibility of creating that outcry for an insignificant or inadequate object. More than this. Were we even to admit a necessity for the Ilbert Bill, it would still be, as it is obvious to the least acute observer that the primary duty of a wise Government, as fully recognized in all civilized countries should have preceded its initiation, viz. That of gauging and apprehending to state of public feeling before entering upon class legislation—a task was never, assayed ; and as nothing short of paramount necessity can justify the disturbance of such exceedingly delicate relations as those which exist between rulers and ruled in India, the conduct of Government, in neglecting this obvious duty, seems all the less excusable. India is not a European country in which communities are bound to each other by language, customs or religion. In this country, men of diferent nationalities differ in all these, and are held together in peace and toleration by the stong rule of an alien race. Whether Government by aliens, is or is not objectionable in principle, is a problem we are not called upon to discuss, though we may assert without fear of contradiction, that, in practice, it

has been the mainstay of India's present moral, commercial, and political development. Even therefore, on the assumption that we are here merely as stewards holding this Empire in trust, we cannot concientiously retire until our charge has matured to a standard when its abandonment to its own devices and resources can be pleaded as a necessity. But to every student of history it will be obvious both, that the time has not yet arrived when we can venture upon such an experiment, and that, it is impossible to foresee the time when India can be safely removed from the political protection and solitude of Great Britain to be entrusted with the uncontrolled conduct of her own affairs. The difficulty of preparing her for self-government is obvious, and assuredly, is not one to be overcome by any system of premature forcing, since the intelligent portions of her population must be aware that, although Mr. Ilbert's most objectionable Bill, in its widest sense, never meant to propose to anything beyond conferring extended powers theoretically, upon all Native members of the Civil Service, as a fact, it could not in reality, have affected more than a dozen or so of Bengalees, for, at least, another generation to come. but no one has yet contended that it is a concession to Native demand, and the argument that, the time may come when such legislation will become essential to the interest of the Empire, and it is expedient to make provision in advance, is hardly worth the trouble of refuting. To legislate by anticipation, for the requirements of a generation yet unborn may, to a ruler of Lord Ripon's stamp, commend itself as whole some provision, but unfortunately, for his farseeing proclivities, political necessity is hardly susceptible of calculation like the advent of meteorological phenomena, and we think it can safely be assumed that arguments based upon such a foundation are better left alone. We hope in an early issue to return to this subject, in order to show the absurdity to which our Vicerory and his advisers are committed.

27.2.1884

LAW REFORM

During a lengthened residence in Bengal, we have had ample opportunity of watching the procedure of Mofussil Courts—civil and criminal—and the effect of their administration of law and what in a spirit of severe irony, we presume, is also styled justice. We frankly admit that, the result of our observation has repeatedly suggested to us a growing necessity for immediate and radical reform. For years, we have written in earnest remonstrance against what we conceive to be grave errors, committed by ignorant

persons appointed to dispense law according to their lights—remarkable only for their dimness—and we have not hesitated to point out where we .... reform could, most advantageoulsy be introduced. Our views have been accepted and endorsed by some contemporaries who have also displayed a disposition to press upon government the expediency of expanging the defects from our procedure ..... it with no small satisfaction, therefore, we notice that, a bill is about to be introduced into Council, swing to amend one department of our Mofussil legal machinery, that is, the consitution of our Courts of Small Causes, a very requisite and desirable reconstruction if unflinchingly carried to an extent that will confer practical benefit upon thousands of litigants who ... prejudced Judges, without either hope or means of ... consolidate and amend "the law relating to Courts of Small Causes established beyond the Presidency-towns," though well meant, can be regarded merely as an instalment of a reform which is to succeed its introduction, if Government really intends to confer upon Mofussil litigants such substantial benefit as their present necessities demand. It is noticesable .... in which amendment is sought to be infused into the prevaling system, is, by appointing an additional Judge of Small Causes, invested with concurrent jurisdiction and subordinate merely in respect to seniority of appointment, in respect to any difference upon questions of fact arising between himself and his colleague ; and a Registrar, empowered to try suits valued at twenty rupees and under, as auxiliary aids to a Judge of a Small Cause Court. In one respect, we concur with, Government, in believing that these elements of additional strength will, in a measure, ensure facility of trial and despatch of business especially if, as hinted, jurisdiction may be extended from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, but there will yet remain a vital ... , defect, untouched and unmodified. To understand this, it is necessary to examine our position a little mere closely. In the Mofussil of Bengal it is well known that, with a single exception, no official any exercise judicialy or *quasi*-judicial powers, unchecked by revising per appellate authority invested with power to scrutinise his acts ; and in certain cases, even to interfere with and .... a divisional Commissioner, no functionary exercising this jurisdiction can do so without feeling that his argument sentence or order in liable to reversal, or modification, on appeal. From this category must be excluded every judge of Court of Small Causes, whose orders that they are subject to neither revisional inquisition, interference, nor appeal, an anomaly that must strike an observer instantly, as both incondistent and invidious. Are we to suppose a Small Cause Court Judge, in a provincial town, cannot err in judgment ; ... In a very

large majority of cases our mofussil Judges of this class are Natives, and we are unable to pronounce them superior, as a body to all other classes of native judicial or ministerial officers, either in point of probity, culture, or acumen. Why then should this invidious distinction be suffered to exist? A divisional Commissioner, supposed by his length of experience and attainments to be a qualified officer to deal efficiently with the local administration of an improtant section of a province, can record on order with an *imprimatur* of finality. His decision is safe-guarded through a Board of Revenue, or may be, has to pass the crucial test of High Court adjudication, ere it can be put in force as irreversible. A district judge, who may be qualifiying for a seat on the High Court Bench, and is already half-way towards attaining his ambition issues a judicial edict in his criminal, civil, or appellate jurisdiction, with a full consciousness that his order is subject to challenge, and even to cancellation. His sub-ordinates, sub-Judges, Munsiffs, & Co., all obey the same law, but a Small cause court Judge, possibly inferior to all of these, rules his court like a despotic monarch, unless and until a suitor blessed with greater abundance of this world's goods than we may reasonably suppose falls to the lot of most Small Cause Court litigants, moves the High Court to send for the record of his case, and to determine its legal merit, and this he can do, purely upon a defective issue of law, upon a technical point improperly interpreted, or upon some ground by which he can show that any legal principle has been violated. Upon matters of fact, he is absolutely hopeless, though his case be strong as adamant. We have seen a suitor leave Court bewailing his unhappy fate and—well, not exactly blessing the day he first put foot inside an institution, where justice is supposed to be purchaseable for a few ... Court fee stamps, *plus* that indefinte ..... of money generically termed by pleaders their fees, which has but too significant a beginning, and often too painfully impressive an end, as suitors often find to their own cost, even when that may not be included in costs of a suit, In Presidency Courts of small Causes, a Judge's order may be subjected to a new trial, or review. A disappointed litigant may, and oftern does, carry his case before a divisional, and finally before a full-bench ; that is, he has two other chances besides that he has lost, and in either case, he has the advantage of unbiassed and disiterested Judges concurring or disagreeing with his original adjudicator.

In Mofussil towns, it is true there is that ghastly farce a review of Judgment, but its effect is only too often to ask a judge to put in to different words, is first ruling, as results rarely differ ... we rarely hear one of them open his lips to pronounce judgment,

without instinctively listening for a possible out burst of—In the name of the Prophet—figs!

3.2.1886

[To the Editor]

Sir— In spite of the direct sunb inflicted upon those deluded mussalmans who allowed themselves to be led astrary as congressianists. I see they cling to a feeble hope of casting just in the eyes of public. Hidayet buksh, as secrectary of that ragged society styled Anjuman-i-Islamia, announced recently in calcutta, on behalf of the Mohomedans of Dacca, he was able to assure his hearers that the Mohamedans of this town are graetly in favour of the congress. Hidayet is a loafer, a very little better, who will speak any lie in public for which he is paid ; he is a man of no character and the associates of those who have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Everybody in Dacca knows that, if we except Abdul Bari Saheb, there is not a single respectable Mahomedan belonging to the Anjuman, that the dozen or half-starved members said to belong to it are of the very lowest class, and no more represent the Mohamedan gentry of Dacca thus a British loafer represents the gentlemanhood of England. Abdul Bari saheb has, to please his kind friends, allowed himself to be cajoled into gathering a few beggars around him, who will say yes or no, as he wishes and these men are said by mendacious Hidayet to be the *Mahomedans* of Dacca. The fact is we cannot believe a word. Hidayet says, as he is incapable of speaking the truth. Hidayet Buksh is never likely to represent any Mahomedan of Dacca above the social rank of khitmutgar or a syce.

Dacca
29th oct
1888

Yours truly
Truth

31.10.1888

CONGRESS

Since that infatuated body styling itself the Indian National Congress met last month at Allahabad, we have repeatedly read idle vaunts by its disciples, that it can no longer be called a Hindoo Congress, since representatives of several Indian races were present, hence it was essentially a national gathering—as if a few straggling renegade Mussulmans, or Eurasians could alter its origin or constitution. We are not prepared either to admit, or to deny, the truth of such an assertion, and we would place little faith in any assurance coming from Congressionists, having seen the shifty

dodges to which they have had recourse. Many of their Maulaves, Syeds and supposed men of standing and influence, were we believe, men of straw, lay figures, posing in their assumed character, at so much per diem. Upon this, as upon some other matters, it is not necessary to dilate as "dull' unreadable papers like the *Pioneer, Times of India, Englishman, Civil and Military Gazette, Muslim Herald,* and journal, have made such startling revelations, that it can no longer remain concealed, how utterly sedition has failed of its cherished object. In fact, disguise it as one may, the Allahabad convocation has proved a sham—a flimsy veil under which treachery and disloyalty run riot, revelling in the pleasure, as some superficial persons suppose, of having intimidated Goverment to a degree at which it has become possible, or may become so very soon, to dictate terms and wrench concessions at will, by playing upon its supposed fears. We may let these very silly and ignorant persons indulge their day-dreams, while we proceed to enquire seriously, if anything in this organisation is worth a moment's serious thought. To determine this, it will be well to satisfy enquiry, as to the constitution , aims and *locus standi* of Congressionists. Do Congress delegates, represent any one but themselves? *Can* they, as matters stand at present, do so? We will pass over for a moment, their aims and the means to which they have had recourse to attain them, accepting for argument's sake alone, that it is under existing circumstances possible for them to have been constitutionally elected to represent certain defined interests, and that they *have* been so elected ; What is their political status? Do they, *can* they, enjoy identical rights and privileges with Englishmen in England, who are free to criticise and can at will control the action of Government, as it affects their religious, social, political, or domestic well being? Can Natives of India, supposing them to be united in interest, claim that, their natural or acquired rights are identical with those which subsist between Englishmen and the constitutional Government that prescribes and defines their status? Will they attempt to deny that, those so-called rights, of which Natives, through their press, so loudly and so often boast, are anything more than merely concessions wrung from our humanity? Will they pretend that, a conquered people can *claim* any inherited rights which are realizable from their rulers? If they maintain this absurd theory, and we again, for argument's sake alone, allow it as enforceable by Muhammadans—who succumbed to British conquest—can their theory be stretched to any race beyond? There is but one—their sole—pretext for asserting that Indians possess cetain *prewileges* and that is to be found in Her

Majesty's Proclamation, which declares that she will regard all her Indian subjects as possessing equal claims. But it is entirely forgotten that this very Proclamation, upon which so much stress is laid, is itself a concession emanating in an act of grace in a period of turmoil. It is not a treaty, it is not a contract of mutuality, demanding and receiving consideration, but a conditional recognition of certain privileges itself has created, and itself can revoke, and more even than this ; as it is an individual expression of opinion by a Sovereign actuated to pity for a people among whom is a section including a fallen and long oppressed race—we refer to Hindoos—it is clearly not only revocable, whenever her Gracious Majesty may desire its recession, but it cannot survive her and retain its statutory cogency as a matter of course ; that is, another dominant Royal will may, in due season, negative it. We see, then, that this Bill of Rights need not necessarily be binding upon Britain for any prolonged period, and consequently, exists at Her Majesty's sovereign will and pleasure. There is, then, no political analogy in relations that exist between our Indian subjects and those between our countrymen at home and our English legislators, to whom we can appeal through a common religion, a common origin, a community of national interests, of language, of history and of national sentiment. In England, we do not ask as a favour, but demand as a matter of justice, a full recognition of rights to which we were born and which have descended to us as a legacy from our forefathers, martyrs, who fought and bled and suffered for generations unborn, and sealed their inheritance with their blood and with our lives. In these circumstances, we can appeal with a clear conscience to our Home rulers, and say—"You have departed from the integrity of your obligations—to administer the laws of this realm after the traditions handed down to us by those, who, of old, hallowed them by years of struggle, of persecution and of toil ; you have, while keeping the word of promise to the ear, broken it to the hope, and we will have no more faltering with our justly acquired and world-acknowledged heritage of rights and immunities—not conferred by you, but won and worn by our mighty ancestors. Restore to us what is ours, or we will help ourselves." Can an Indian say this to the British Government ; can he, in the interests of property, and, in the interests of enlightenment and civilisation, more than to be justly governed? It seems to our judgment that, a Native of India, prating of his rights, is remarkably like a man talking nonsense, upon a subject in which he is at best imperfectly versed, and upon which, he is crazy.

16.1.1889

ANTI CONGRESS MEETING

On sunday last, an anti-congress meeting was held in fulbaria, consisting of between four hundred and five hundred persons, many undoubtedly unlearned, but also, a great majority composed of respectable artisans, traders and men engaged in various industries, headed by Babu Soshi Lochun Mittra, a grandson of Bangshee Babu[৩০], who did good service for Government in 1857. It was decided that. "As muhammadans in Dacca are opposed to congress aims, no person in this assemblage shall, directly, or indirectly associate himself with any congress partisan, or in any manner express sympathy with congress aims or objects, but hold steadily aloof, as a manifestation of loyalty." It was also decided that. "All true-Hindoos who are necessarily opposed to this make-believe congress, are to be regarded as worthy of confidence and respect for their anti-congress prelivities. In the opinion of the meeting congrees-wallahs are seditionists in politics and renegades in religion." This meeting exhibits a feeling, which is very general in Dacca among mussulmans and orthodox Hindoos, which promises to spread and bear fruit. At sundys meeting, there were present sixty sirdars, representing sixty different *mahalas* . each *mahalla* having an aggregate of from one hundred to two hundred inhabitants.

5.3.1890

CONGRESS METHODS

Often as we have been twitted with opposing all constitutional (?) methods of agitation in India, our answer to this charge has always been clear. In a land sawayed by alien rulers, we hold that there cannot be constitutional agitation, though there may be a tolerated form of it, based upon sentimental sufferance. Our native friends have never been able to understand this. In England, where every English unit forms part of our own nation, wheres every subject of her Majesty has, of inherited right, a vioce in his country's government, where constitutional representation in Parliament is a legacy to which we are born, and which we enjoy with our first breath, we claim that our wants and wishes shall be properly set forth for us in a Senate organised upon popular suffrage : and should our representatives fail in their duty, we have but to assemble and pass a vote of want of confidence, to be rid of our member. Have we any such institution in this country, and would it answer its purpose, if we had? This is a question facts, surrounding circumstances, and varying conditions of feeling must be left to answer. When we look at our own country, we find there a national

spirit that is roused, from time to time, upon great occasions, such for example, as this Boer war, when all classes and orders of men are knit together by a principls of national cohesion, and blend their voices into a chorus that nothing can resist, and that even Parliamentary influence is powerless to still. Our national will is supreme. If we desire war, we shall have it ; if not, our will must be obeyed. When our roughs break railings in Hyde Park, or gather for some public purpose in mass meetings, their convoca-tions, if rather disorderly, are yet not unconstitutional, since they have an absolute right to assemble in any number, and to discuss public affairs, their own interests being therein involved, each individual having a personal concern in whatsoever affects his country. And in this connection, we must always bear in mind one important fact, that England is our own country. Is a great military or political success, each unit of that great nation which is a marvel to mankind, feels that an honour has come to him through his fellow patriots and representatives. He is proud of his country, of his glorious flag that has "braved a thousand years, the battle and the breeze ;" of his national institutions, and of every thing that appertains to his beloved country, for which he is ready at any moment to die ; and it is this principle of cohesion that knits us into an amalgamated nation, with wide-spreading interests, in which many civilised Powers feel that their own have a share. Now, what do we find in India? Is there a *nation* under our away—a nation of men bound by identieal intereste, stirred into animation by similar hopes and aspirations? Far from it. Our Gracious Sovereign reigns over a population of three hundred millions, consisting of bodies of religionists differing from each other in almost every essential requisite to amalgamation, whilst possessing qualities entirely antagonistic to confraternity. In their religion, in their laws, in their social habits and usages, they differ so adveresly as to forbid all hope of a united India, and yet, for fifteen years past, we have had it dinned into our ears that a tide of brotherly sympathy between Hindoos and Muhammadans is steadily setting in, and promises at no distant date, to unite these two main factions, when their rights(?) will be wrested from Government under irresistible preesure. Now, what we object to in Congress methods is an initiative of deception. Why should Congress orators prate of their "own country," and express a hope for its fredom? They must be fully aware India is not their own country, and has not been for centuries ; and they must be equally well aware that they have not a single right to have a voice in her government. They have not King and no country ; no charter of constitution ; they have not a shadow of a claim to be regarded as other than integrals

of a country with diverse hopes, and that they are without a shadow of a pretence to demand a share of governing it. Upon what they fix their ambition it is difficult to state. Their so-stayled claims, are myths ; they have no political stake here, and to call India their own country is to abuse language. Constitutionally, politically, socially, there is no sympathy between different sects and races in India, and Congress insistence upon a union of interests is a mere form of words.

20.1.1900

NEW MEMBER FOR B. C

When it is suggested to us that Mr. Anundo Chandra Roy[৩১], our local bar leader, should enter his candidature for a seat in our Lieutenant-Governor's Council, we feel that more is involved in that proposal than ordinarily attracts attention, when such a proposal is offered for popular acceptance. Mr Roy has always held a distinguished position in Dacca, as one of our foremost leading men, and his wealth, social influence and legal ability, have steadily kept him at an elevation it is given to few to attain. He was our first Municipal Chairman, working under our local self-Government regime, and well and ably he held office. He has rendered other services to his fellow-townsmen, but perhaps, none to equal in astute briliancy, his opposition to Lord Curzon's plan of disintegrating Bengal, in which he displayed abilities of a far higher order than any for which he has ever had credit previously. He has now attained his zenith of fame and influence, and perhaps, it would be as well not to tempt fortune further, since we doubt if he can, by any possibility, attain to higher honour, even in our Bengal Council, which, if attained, will not be without certain personal disadvantages, not to mention his pecuniary loss as our member—a loss it is happily recognised he might sustain ten times over, without wincing at it. That, however, is not what we need to trouble about now. Our most anxious enquiry is, who, amongst willing candidates now available—Mr. A.C. Roy, as we hear, having distinctly and emphatically declined—is most likely to combine in his person such requirements as cannot fail to raise him above his fellows to a status in which his talents and family influence may be best available to serve East Bengal, and in reply, we should say that, public favour could not name one better qualified for this task than Kumar Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhry of Santosh. whose youth has been objected to as a disqualification but which we should be disposed to regard very differently. It is remarkable that this gentleman's most inveterate opponent is unable to bring forward

any disability against him save his age—a defect—allowing it to be one, which we disallow—that every day helps to cure. Of course, we may be challenged as to his fitness for this high and responsible office, and were we questioned, we should not hesitate to refer to trustworthy testimony borne to his qualifications by some of our Indian contemporaries, from which we gather, no doubt can be entertained as to this gentleman's eligibility to represent our interests, both in point of personal capability and by reason of those prominent characteristics which lend force to personality and dignity to office. In very possible respect he seems to us marked out as well qualified to undertake an ambitious office admirably suited to him. He has given largely in public benefactions, he has identified himself with many public questions ; he is well educated, a powerful speaker, and an active leader of thought. In his candidature he has enlisted a great many influential nobles and zemindars in East Bengal, and taken all in all, is unquestionably, our best candidate. He is a young man of cultivated mind and manners, is wealthy and said to be free-handed, a friend to suffering and a benefactor to deserving poverty. Quick to observe and facile at grasping any problem presented to him, he appears to be peculiarly well qualified in all respects to represent East Bengal in Council.

1.6.1904

শিক্ষা

[শিক্ষা সংক্রান্ত নিবন্ধ/সংবাদ স্বাভাবিকভাবেই *বেঙ্গল টাইমসে* ছিল কম। এখানে শিক্ষা সংক্রান্ত চার ধরনের নিবন্ধ মাত্র সংকলিত হলো।

প্রথম নিবন্ধটিতে 'বিশপস্ স্কুল' নামে একটি স্কুলের নাম পাওয়া যাচ্ছে যেখানে প্রধানত ইউরোপীয় ও ইউরোপিয়ান ছাত্ররা পড়াশোনা করতো। এ স্কুলটি সম্পর্কে সমকালীন কোন পত্রিকায় বা গ্রন্থে আর কোন তথ্য পাওয়া যায় নি। দ্বিতীয় নিবন্ধটি স্কুলে শৃঙ্খলাবোধ সম্পর্কে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে এবং এ প্রসঙ্গে কলেজিয়েট স্কুল ও কলেজ প্রসঙ্গ এসেছে। স্কুলে একদিকে পরিচালনা কর্তৃপক্ষ অন্যদিকে ছাত্রদের শৃঙ্খলাবোধ সম্পর্কিত নিবন্ধ/সংবাদ সমসাময়িক পত্র-পত্রিকা বিশেষ করে বাংলা পত্রিকায় বেশি ছাপা হতো। বাংলা পত্রিকাগুলি শিক্ষাকে বেশি গুরুত্ব দেওয়ার কারণ এই যে, শিক্ষা হয়ে উঠেছিলো একজন ব্যক্তির সামাজিক মর্যাদা ও অর্থনীতির ভিত্তি।

তৃতীয় নিবন্ধটির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে মুসলমানদের শিক্ষা প্রসঙ্গ নিয়ে খানিকটা বিস্তারিত আলোচনা করা যেতে পারে। কারণ, তৎকালীন পূর্ববঙ্গে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ ছিলেন তারা।

পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে মুসলমানরা আগ্রহ দেখাননি এবং তাদের অনাগ্রহ তৎকালীন অনেক মুসলমান নেতার চোখ এড়িয়ে যায় নি। সর্বভারতীয় পটভূমিকায় সৈয়দ আহমেদ এ ব্যাপারে অগ্রণী ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন। তাঁর উদ্দেশ্য ছিল দ্বিবিধ, মুসলমানদের সঙ্গে ইংরেজদের সম্প্রীতি সহযোগিতা গড়ে তোলা যাতে সম্প্রদায়গতভাবে সুযোগ সুবিধা লাভ করে পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষাগ্রহণ যার ফলে ঐ সব সুবিধা লাভে অগ্রাধিকার পাওয়া যাবে।[১] বাংলার পটভূমিকায় একই ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন আবদুল লতিফ।

তাঁদের ও অন্যান্য আরো অনেকের প্রচেষ্টার ফলে, মুসলমানদের পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা গ্রহণ বিষয়ে সরকার গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেছিলেন। ১৮৭১ সাল থেকে ১৮৮৫ সাল পর্যন্ত শিক্ষা সম্পর্কিত সরকারি প্রস্তাবসমূহে মুসলমান সমাজে শিক্ষা প্রসারের উদ্দেশ্যে কতকগুলো ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বনে সুপারিশ করা হয়েছিলো।[২] কালক্রমে মুসলমানরা এর সুফলও পেয়েছিলেন। কিন্তু, সমগ্র মুসলমান জনসংখ্যার তুলনায় পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত মুসলমানের হার এত স্বল্প ছিল যে উল্লেখ করার মতো নয়। তবুও বলা যেতে পারে, এ সময়ই বাঙালি মুসলমান মধ্যবিত্তের ভিত্তিটি মাত্র স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো এবং আরো প্রায় অর্ধশতক লেগেছিলো তা বিকশিত হতে।

সামগ্রিকভাবে বলা যেতে পারে, যে সময়টুকু আমার আলোচনার অন্তর্ভুক্ত, ঐ সময়টুকুতে ইংরেজি শিক্ষার প্রতি আগ্রহ বাড়ছিলো এবং উনিশ শতকের শেষে এটিই

স্বাভাবিক হয়ে উঠেছিলো। জমির ওপর পুরোপুরি নির্ভর করতে না পেরে মধ্যস্বত্বের অধিকারীর সন্তানরা বিভিন্ন হাইস্কুলে ভিড় জমিয়েছিলো এবং সরকারি চাকুরি পাবার আশায় শিখছিলো ইংরেজি। এ জন্য তাদের প্রয়োজন মিটিয়েছিলো বিভিন্ন জেলাস্কুল বা কলেজিয়েট বা পোগজ স্কুলের মতো কিছু স্কুল এবং ঢাকা কলেজ।]

সূত্র

১. Sufia Ahmed, *Muslim Community in Bengal*, Dacca, 1974, pp. 48-49.
২. আনিসুজ্জামান, *মুসলিম মানস ও বাংলা সাহিত্য*, ঢাকা, ১৯৬৪, পৃ. ৮৪।

সংকলন

THE BISHOP'S SCHOOL

Now that the school which was lately inaugurated with much flourish of trumpets has finally given up the ghost after a sickly existence of four months, it may be interesting and instructive to inquire into the causes of its timely or untimely decease. Interesting—as a study of human nature in the direction of ecclesiasticism—instructive—for the future guidance of parents of children in Dacca.

It was understood that the chief promoter of the Bishop's School was under the impression that the school would be strongly supported by planters in Sylhet and Cachar. Why these gentlemen—who presumably can afford to give their children a proper education—should select Dacca of all places in the world, instead of sending their children to England or to some hill station. In India, it is a mystery into which, as into some other ecclesiastical mysteries, we will not be so irreverent as to inquire.

Dacca is supposed to contain about seventy children old enough to be sadly in want of schooling. Upwards of fifty of these are already collected in Mr. Vyse's School. This school has for two years been the only school in Dacca. It was worked up amidst great difficulties both financial and other wise. It is well known that the inability of very poor European to pay for the education of their children is fully equalled by the careless indifference with which their families are often allowed to grow up in deplorable ignorance. All the difficulties however were overcome by the energy and perseverance of Mr. Vyse. His school is now recognised by Government, and receives a grant-in-aid. It is undergoing a thorough reorganisation and improvement. The school however is not intended to supply a showy education. The three R's and a little History, Geography, and religious instruction compose the standard aimed at. Music, Drawing, and other elegant accomplishments will be taught if a sufficient number of parents are willing to pay for the expenses of providing such teaching. And lastly the school must always pay its way—for such quiet work as that in which Mr. Vyse

has been engaged is not likely to be rewared with donations of five hundred and a thousand rupees, from English and NATIVE gentleman.

We stated that Dacca contains about seventy children of European or Eurasian parentage. About twenty of these belong to what we may call well to-do parents. It is of course true that a gentleman whose income may be five or six hundred rupees a month (or even more) but who has a very large family is really far poorer than a man whose income is three hundred ...... More especially is this the case if the latter parent belongs to a lower stratum of society. Still parents must be class .. in general lists according to thair incomes and social positions and not according to the number of their little ones, who—in the days before taxes were known (and before Daccas landlords existed)—might possibly be fairly enough described as "arrows in the hands or a giant." These well to-do parents—whether rightly or worngly so-called—might start a second and more exclusive school in Dacca. But no one who pays a moment's attention to the subject can fail to see that such a school must be expensive in proportion both to the excellence of the teaching and to the scanty number of the pupils. Any attempt to provide for a few children a first class education with masters and mistresses imported into the station for the purpose, and with such a scale of fees as shall bring the new school into competition with Mr. Vyse's must infallibly end in bankruptcy.

Neither the Government nor private liberality will permanently provide well to do parents with money to educate their children. Very hard cases no doubt occur among those whose we must imperfectly describe by classing them among well-to do people. In fact the reason why such exceptional people are not really well of is not that their actual income is small but that the number of their children and the style in which they must live combine to cause their difficulties.

The attempted establishment in Dacca of a new school—its management or mismanagemant—its real or apparent opposition to the school of Mr. Vyse—these elements—intensified by theological bigotry—have introduced into the discussion of the educational needs of Dacca much acrimony and many needless personalities.

The local authorities have been standing bewteen two fires. One party would have had them stamp out the school of Mr. Vyse and reduce a deserving man to utter destitution. The other party would have them frown on the attempted establishment of a new school intended by its more liberal advocates, not to rob Mr. Vyse of his pupils but to supplement the education which his school can

give by something beyond his standard. What the local authorities had to do was to support each school in proportion to its actual merits. And as we understand that the late Commissioner was President of the committee of each school, it seems clear that though certain members of one committee might cherish hostile feelings towards the school watched over by the other yet the local authorities were honestly striving to stand neutral. Like all neutrals they must not be surprised to find themselves bitterly attacked by both sides.

Then as regards the management of the new school, it is well known that its organisation and aims were entirely settled by the Bishop. The conclusion is not difficult to draw. Certainly the school has proved a miserable failure and has thrown discredit quite undeserved on the members of the local committee. The Bishop enters the station driving a four in hand. The local authorities are persuaded to get up and he tumbles them into the mind. Whether he can succeced in settling the blame on the shoulders of a particular outrider is more than we care to inquire. There is however no doubt that for some little time ecclesiastical driving will be viewed with much suspicion in Dacca.

9 2.1876

LOCAL SCHOOLS

In the last issue of a local contemporary we notice an article entitled "Schools in Dacca." It commences by drawing attention to the fact that there is a want of proper discipline in our Native schools. It points out that a student who is punished in one school for idleness, disobedience or other offences, has occasionally have known to leave that school and find no difficulty in obtaining admittance eleswhere. It also states that a student who is denied promotion to a higher class—for which in the opinion of the Head Master of his school he is judged to be utterly unfit—can readily obtain in another school the vital promotion which be covets. In other words, if he has been a year in the third class and is quite unfit—to pass into the second class, he leaves his school and is easily admitted elsewhere as a second class student. In this way a number of students ultimately find their way into the Entrnce class, and when they appear in the Calcutta Entrance Examination they are plucked as a matter of course. On repeating the experiment the next year they will probably be plucked again, for no amount of continuance in the Entrance class will supply them with knowledge which is only taught in lower classes. For the want of this knowledge they are unable to benefit by the instruction given

in the highest class. Self-evident as are these considerations, students will refuse to accept them. Thus their parents are denying themselves to little purpose to provide their childs, with schooling. Thus the higher classes of our Native schools are filled with boys who are prone to be idle and troublesome in class because they cannot really follow the expositions of the Master owing to their ignorance of the rudiments of the subject. True also, boys are tempted to use unfair means to pass the university examination from their obvious unfitness to pass it honestly. We are informed by the writer of the same article that the Head masters of the private schools in Dacca endeavoured to combine to carry out improvements in these respects. But—the writer goes on to say—the movement fell through owing to the "want of sympathy and co-operation evinced by the then Principal of the College, Mr. Garratt and the presant Head Master of the Collegiate School[৩২] Baboo Koilas Chunder Ghose[৩৩]." The writer however is careful to save us the task of disproving this last assertion, for he forthwith proceeds to supply evidence that the Principal and the Head Master in question showed decided sympathy with the movement. We believe that the matter has also privately been brought before the present of officiating Principal. It is understood that he has expressed his readiness and anxiety to do all in his power to further so desirable an improvement. It is natural that Head Masters of Private schools should feel a difficulty in taking the initiative. For these schools being proprietary must be made to pay. Any such improvements in discipline—especially if confined to one or two schools—would be likely to empty those schools and to send discontented scholars to other places where their liberty and licence would be less unchecked. Moreover, the authorities of these schools—which are necessarily rivals—show perhaps a little mutual distrust. They agree however, in considering that the Collegiate school which has a Government treasury behind it, should lead the way in preparing the necessary reforms. In this expectation we cannot see that they are unreasonable, and we sincerely hope that the Principal of the College will not be wanting on this occasion. We are encouraged in this hope, as it is well known that he has already directed his attention to plans for raising the tone of the students in our Government Schools and Colleges. Shortly after he took over charge of the College, he addressed the Director of Public Instruction on this subject. The matter appears to have hung fire for some little time, but lately the Director has carried out the suggestion of Mr. Ewbank, by submitting certain definite proposals—framed by the latter gentleman—to the eldest educational officers of the department

and to other gentlemen both English and Native, who are likely to be interested in the question. It seems that replies to these proposals have not as yet been collected. It is however certain that they will be strongly supported by the officers of the Education Department. The article in our contemporary closes by referring in terms of disapproval to some change in the routine of the Collegiate School which has lately been introduced. The reasons on which this change was based, were laid down with sufficient fulness, in the order book of the College. It does not appear that in the framing of the order in question, any opposition to the measure on the parts of guardians of the pupils, or others, was foreseen. But as a matter of fact it is sufficient for any one to read that order—a copy of which has already incidentally found its way into the columns of our contemporary—to see that the measure was a wise one. It is well known that the Head Masters of some other schools would like to see the same system introduced, but they are prudently allowing the Principal of the College to fight the battle single-handed. This change excited at the time some controversy in Native papers. Several utterly unfounded statements apparently framed to injure the Principal of the College and the Head Master of the Collegiate School—were recklessly introduced into the discussion. It is understood that before Mr. Ewbank made the change he collected opinions on the point from various sections of the Native community. The answers obtained might be divided in to two categories. One class of parents gave it as their opinion that the matter was one which should be left to the discretion of the Educational officers. The parents of the other class appeared to look on a school as a king of nursery where a child might be sent to be kept out of mischief during the day while the father is engaged in his business, and the mother is occupied with her domestic duties. In their opinion a school which keeps its scholars for five hours, is preferable to one that keeps its scholars for four hours. And if a third school were to keep its scholars for six hours, this fact would establish its preeminence. In this latter class of opinions, indeed, there is nothing peculiar to Bengal. The same views may be gathered in all countries among corresponding classes of the community. It is said that petitions against this change of routine have been sent both to the Principal and to the Director. In India it is impossible to estimate the importance of a petition by the number of signatures it contains. It would in fact be necessary first to analyses carefully the names on the document and, secondly, to learn the exact circumtances under which the signatures were obtained. On the whole we are of opinion that Native gentlemen who realise the many evils of the

want of proper discipline in our various Native schools, should endeavour by all means in their power to strengthen the hands of heads of schools, and that to attempt to interfere with these officers in the settlement of school routine, can only be productive of mischief.

22.1.1876

MUHAMMADAN EDUCATION

(Contribution)

A Muhammadan getleman of position and intelligence writes in a spirit we admire sufficiently to insert his communication in our editiorial columns. He remarks that, a Muhammadan Educational Conference, which recently met at Lahore under Sir Syed Ahmed's[৩৪] presidentship, says a contemporary, passed a resolution regarding schooling fees of Muhammadan students that has caused considerable patriotic misgiving and anxiety in a reflective baboo-edited daily journal of 25th ultimo. By that resolution, this Conference hopes to induce the Punjab government to extend some indulgence to Muhammadan students, by reducing or remitting scholastic fees payable by them. Our contemporary, being apprehensive lest, possibly,that Government, on receiving the resolution, may commit what it evidently imagines would amount to an act of gross partiality, by acceding, has indicated seasonable a course of virtue, both to Government and students, by pointing out that such a demand is as "highly reprehensible" as remission would be condemnatory, if sanctioned, despite Lord Lansdowne's[৩৫] "unmistakable declaration" indicative of no favour to anybody on the mere ground of his nationality. Had our daily been really anxious to contribute to early inauguration of "the brotherhood" and "the political unity" of a common land of nativity, it would have rejoiced to see so large and influential a section of Indians endeavouring to surmount its many disavantges and placing itself in a position to acquire that "common language" which at some future day—perhaps, not long distant—is "to create the bonds of brotherhood between different and distant peoples." It would have hailed with warmth of welcome, an effort directed towards that attainable standard of improvement, which is now a cherished inheritance of enlightened Baboodom—a Garden of Hesperides carefully guarded against Moslem intrusion. But it is evident that our contemporary's zeal for unity evaporate as soon as his patriotism is aroused ; and that he does not in reality desire an accomplishment of what he so enthusiastically advocates. Lip-

loyalty and lip-patriotism are has stock-in-trade ; tom-tom politics his absorbing topic of conversation and study. He is ready to adept that facstinating doctrine—"*Dules at de* ... it is on paper only, his patriotism being speculative, not operative. And similarly, his universal brotherhood theories read very smoothly when crysta-llised in long premier, but upon practical application of a crucial test as to their genuinness, 10! and he hold they enfold a double meaning. Our friend, our Baboo compatriat, our hero of self abnegating proclivities and tears at will oratory, is a simple child of natures in profession but what in its meaning in honest English? Why, it is this ; he is compounded of a dual nature. He talks in public of laying down his life for his "cause", and his Moslem brothers are dear to him as his life's blood, so long as they are commented to let him choose their destiny in life but once let them demand concessions on their own behalf and ... exclaims—"Oh! so, friend : you mistake. My meaning is merely that you are my brother in theory, but not in a share of these loaves and flashes I hope to obtain through your co-operation. What's your's is mine, and what's mine is my case! This and this alone is our basis of partnership." Insincerity and selfishness are sole notions of policy. He would play Moslem against Government, and himself against both. Let this be a warning to these easily hoodwinked moslem converts to Congress aposties, who prefers to be so zealous in inaugurating an open of amalgamated interests when the lion and kid shall lie down together and the wolf and lamb swear a compact of friendship. Here is proof positive of what we may expect from a community of political interests. Now, we say, with all deference, Muhammadans have special claims on Government to advance their education, which have been elsewhere pointed out with considerable force. In the political world they are still an impor-tant factor. and we should like to see these claims upon State sympathy recognised by Government and effect given to them. Muhammadans have hitherto been very backward in their acquisition of that common language "Which is to bring about the political unity" of India. They have not availed themselves of benifits arising from an introduction of Western ideas with equal alacrity as their Hindoo fellow subjects. A contemporary feelingly observes : "Memory of a not long past—has lingered so terribly late in their minds, that they have fallen back in the race with Hindoos in attaining those peculiar qualities which lead to preferment and governmental patronage. As a consequence, while clinging to the shreds and trappings of a by-gone greatness, they have impove-rished themselves, and refused themselves to a conditions to need a powerful helping hand to place them on a level with their

fellow-subjects. We only repeat a truism when we say that it is the duty of all Goverments to remove such inequalities as place some at a disadvantage to others. A school-master devotes more time and attention his pupils, Government should help more *effectively* its backward subjects. A true sanitarian expends more money and care on improving localities that are a constant menace to public health. Government, in its wise policy, earnestly endeavours by pecuniary and other assistance, by every legitimate concession, by wholesome inducement, to supply deficiencies, to satisfy discontent and remove all causes of complaint among disadvantageously placed peoples and classes within the limits of its control and rule." We will go further, and in an appeal to a *christian* Government, we will employ the sublime logic of a Christian dispensation. Did the incarnated Deity of Christian orthodoxy visit the world to call the penitent to righteousness ; did he direct His sacred energies to convert the willing and pious to purity and virtue? Nay, as He came to call sinners to repentance, so in like manner were His words framed to teach that beautiful lesson—it is the sick who have need of a physician, not the healthy. And so with us Mussulmans, as I have but lately read ; —"In sanitation of a locality is no more dangerous to the health of a nation, than existence of ignorant and discontented sections of a nation is a menace to national tranquility and progress. Acting in this spirit, no Government can be guilty of partiality in helping those who need its help. It is merely doing its duty wisely and beneficently and for the good of all.' The Punjab Government will therefore do well to consider favourably the resolution to which we allude, and make such special concessions with regard to fees of Muhammadan students, as will assist and induce them more largely to enter the field and fight the battle of life on more equal terms with their fellow-subjects. Lord Lansdowne is too sensible and too enlightened a statesman not to have carefully weighed the present position of Muhammadans and how best it can be improved consistently with the requirements of those vital interests involved in succouring a body of people entrusted to his Viceroyalty. There is one more aspect from which we desire to view this question, and despite its apparent selfishness, our argument demands, not alone, that we should give it firm and respectful expression, but that Government should regard it as appealing with irresistible force to its own sense of prudence and impartiality. Our contention is that, for a period of several centuries, Muhammadans were rulers of India by right of conquest and Hindoos is subjection to them, By what right, then, human or divine, can our subjects be elevated to an equality with us? Let us suppose for a moment an

impossibility, by way of analogous argument—that Russia conquered India ; would Englishmen be happy were they to be reduced to a level with Hindoos and Muhammadans? Would an English mechanic or artisan agree that his status could be identical with that of a Native? It must also be conceded that, since we have been conquered, we have rendered Government more important political services than Hindoos, and for this reason, are entitled to expect more consideration from our rulers, As for amalgamation between Hindoos and Mussulmans, that is the dream of a visionary, not of a practical soberminded man, who takes a common sense view of human affairs, and especially, of India's present and future political outlook.

6 2 1889

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

From a report before us, we gather some interesting statistics of last year's history of education in Bengal. Decrease of pupils in the middle stage of English schools, is attributed to more accurate classification, while that in the lower section, or primary stage, is due partly to *bond fide* progress, and partly to a change of system, under which, the only point taken into account is the mode of instruction, without entering upon any question whether a given pupil can actually read a printed book or not. From another table, dealing with caste and creed, we gather that, of pupils in all public institutions, 69 percent are Hindus, 28 percent. Mahomedans, nearly 1 percent. Christians (half being Native Christians), and nearly 2 per cent, aborigines. Of Hindus at school, 40 percent belong to the dominant and literate castes of Brahmans Rajputs. Kayasths, & Co. ; 27 percent. to Banias and artizan castes ; and 6 percent to low or servile castes of Chamars, Domes, Haris, & Co. Relative strength among these different groups varies with curious regularity in the different classes of schools. Thus, in colleges, literate castes out number all others by five to one, in high schools by three to one ; while in lower primary schools they form less than one-fourth. In respect of lower castes, order of distribution is reversed. for every 1,000 pupils of literate castes, there are of lower castes 7 pupils in high schools, 17 in middle English schools, 40 in middle Vernacular schools, 115 in upper primary and 211 in lower primary schools. Mr. Croft, by whom this report was written, appeals to these statistics to prove that, the constitution of pathsalas, maintained by village communities, has always been perfectly democratic, and goes on to remark that Government interference with village schools has diminished the relative

proportion of higher classes among their pupils. In village pathsalas outside the departmental system, proportion of pupils of superior or literate castes is said to be 57 percent., while in aided primary schools it as only 23 percent. It is possible, however, with all deference to Mr. Croft, whose ability is above cavil to draw another conclusion. These figures might suggest that, the original constitution of pathsalas was hardly so democratic as Mr. Croft's observations would imply it to be. Education, in fact, was a privilege of literate castes, whose superior status was fully recognised in village communities, and lower castes were only gradually admitted to share in this privilege. Supervision of pathsalas by the State has tended, as Mr. Croft points out, to diminish the proportion of boys belonging to literate castes, and it has done so not by reducing their numbers, but by increasing those of other castes—in short, by making a pathsala more democratic that the traditions of native society would of themselves permit. No administrative change were made in the controlling agencies of the Department during last year. Complete information is, for the first time, furnished regarding extent of inspection done by various grades of inspecting officers. Excluding the Inspector of European schools, whose duties are of a special kind, average length of tour made by the ten superior inspecting officers was 155 days, during which 141 schools were visited *in situ*, and as regards eight officers. a large number of pathsalas was examined at a central gathering arranged for that purpose. For Deputy-Inspectors of schools a tour of 150 days in the year is considered reasonable, having regard to the heavy office work they have to perform in many districts. Of 48 officers in this grade, 25 attained or exceeded and 18 fell short of this standard. An average for the grade was 156 davs, during which 198 schools were visited in *situ*. In reference to Sub-Inspectors, demands of office work are, or ought to be, less pressing and their minimum tour is therefore fixed at 200 days every year. On an average each of the 178 offices employed on Sub-Inspector's work spent 204 days on tour and visited in *situ* 327 out of 387 schools under his inspection, independently of the number collected and examined at central gatherings. Reviewing this branch of work as a whole, the extent of inspection done during last year must be pronounced sufficient and satisfactory, and the Lieutenant-Governor has much pleasure in acknowledging the activity shown by all classes of officers. Where, however, the number of schools and the area over which they are scattered is so large, it is clear that, in many cases inspection must have been conducted in a hurried manner, and can have done little to improve the character and quality of the

instruction given. In dealing with certain proposals of the Education Commission, the Lieutenant-Governor has already accepted as a conclusion that, expanding and strengthening inspecting agency has the first claim in point of urgency upon Provincial finances, and in the estimates of expenditure for the coming year, an effort will be made to carry this conclusion into effect. It may also i.e. remarked here that, the Director is alive to some advantages which a prevailing system of chief gurus seems to offer, as an effective and comparatively inexpensive mode of stren-gthening the inspecting agency of this department.

14.3.1885

Notice

INFANT CLASS IN THE DACCA
COLLEGLATE SCHOOL

It is proposed to open an infant class in the Dacca collegiate school from the 1st of Feb. 1904. Admission fee eight annas and schooling fee eight annas per month. Parent and guardians wanting information about the class are requested to apply to the Head-master of the callegiate school.

Dacca Collegiate
The 17th December
1903

P.K. Ray, D.Sc.
Principal

24.2.1904

প্রশাসন

[প্রশাসন ও সংবাদপত্র সংক্রান্ত সংবাদ/রচনাগুলি দুটি আলাদা শিরোনামের অধীনে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়ত উচিত ছিল। কিন্তু বর্তমান শিরোনামের অধীনে সংকলিত সংবাদ/রচনাগুলিতে বিষয় দুটি প্রায় অঙ্গাঙ্গীভাবে জড়িত। যেমন, কোন 'নেটিভ' সংবাদপত্রে কোন ইংরেজ প্রশাসকের সমালোচনা করা হলে বা প্রশাসন সম্পর্কে কোন মন্তব্য করা হলে *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে নিজস্ব মতামত তুলে ধরেছে। ফলে, সংবাদপত্র নয়, উল্লিখিত প্রশাসনিক বিষয় বা প্রশাসকই মুখ্য হয়ে উঠেছে। তাই, আলাদাভাবে দু'টি ভিন্ন বিষয় হিসেবে বিবেচনা না করে সামগ্রিকভাবে পুরো বিষয়টিকে (সংকলিত সংবাদ/রচনা) 'প্রশাসন' শিরোনামের অধীনে বিচার করা হয়েছে।

প্রশাসন ও ইংরেজ প্রশাসক সম্পর্কে বাংলা ও ইংরেজি পত্রিকার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী ছিল সম্পূর্ণ ভিন্ন। কলকাতা ও ঢাকার প্রায় প্রতিটি বাংলা পত্রিকা সবসময় কঠোর ভাষায় সমালোচনা করেছে ইংরেজ প্রশাসন ও এর সঙ্গে যুক্ত ইংরেজ কর্মকতাদের পক্ষপাত দুষ্টতা বা অন্যায় ব্যবহারের। অন্যদিকে, ইংরেজি পত্রিকাগুলি ভারতীয়দের বিরুদ্ধে ইংরেজদের অপরাধ-কে কখনও বড় করে দেখেনি। তারা সব সময় ছিল, ব্রিটিশ প্রশাসন ও ইংরেজ প্রশাসকদের পক্ষে। আদালতে কোন ইংরেজ বিচারক কোন ইংরেজকে লঘু দণ্ড দিলে বা কোন বাঙালি ডেপুটি ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট কোন ইংরেজদের বিরুদ্ধে সামান্য কোন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করলেও সমালোচিত হয়েছেন বা মুখোমুখি হয়েছেন ব্যঙ্গ-বিদ্রূপের। যেমন, জনৈক ইংরেজ বিচারক একজন আইন ভঙ্গকারি ইংরেজ-কে লঘু দণ্ড দেয়ার পর *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* মন্তব্য করেছিলো—

> "... He should have been acquitted and thanked for having ably supported the English characters for pluck of nerve in moments of extreme pain. The Magistrate does not appear to have acted with much wisdom."

বর্তমান সংকলনে সংকলিত অভয়চন্দ্র দাশ সম্পর্কিত চিঠিটি বিচার করা যাক। অভয়চন্দ্রের সুখ্যাতি করে চিঠিটি লেখা হয়েছিলো। *বেঙ্গল-টাইমস* চিঠিটি ছেপেছে কিন্তু সঙ্গে সঙ্গে নিজস্ব মন্তব্যও প্রকাশ করেছে যেখানে অভয়চন্দ্রের কর্মকাণ্ড ও ব্যক্তি হিসেবে তাঁকে হেয় করা হয়েছে। তেমনি প্রেস আইনের বিরুদ্ধে লন্ডনে ভারতীয়রা একটি সভা করলে তার রিপোর্টটি এমনভাবে লেখা হয়েছে যাতে মনে হয় পুরো ব্যাপারটি ছিল একটি তামাশা মাত্র।

ইংরেজ শাসন/প্রশাসনের ক্ষেত্রে বাংলা পত্রিকার সম্পাদকদের দৃষ্টি প্রধানতঃ আকর্ষিত হয়েছে পুলিশের অন্যায় আচরণ, সিভিলিয়ানদের রূঢ় ব্যবহার, আদালতের পক্ষপাতদুষ্ট

বিচার। একদিকে, আমলাদের রূঢ় ব্যবহারের সমালোচনা করা হয়েছে। অন্যদিকে, বিভিন্ন পদে ভারতীয়দের নিযুক্তির ব্যাপারে পক্ষপাতমূলক আচরণের নিন্দা করা হয়েছে সোচ্চারভাবে । *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* তো বটেই, ইংরেজি ভাষায় প্রকাশিত অন্যান্য পত্রিকাগুলিও এ ব্যাপারে ছিল প্রায় নিশ্চুপ। কিন্তু 'নেটিভ' কোন পত্রিকায় এসব প্রসঙ্গ উত্থাপিত হলে তারা নিজ নিজ পত্রিকায় তীব্র ভাষায় তার সমালোচনা করতো। দেশীয় পত্রিকাগুলি সম্পর্কে *বেঙ্গল টাইমস* একবার মন্তব্য করেছিলো—

> "We fear that ninety-nine percent of the Native Papers can scarcely be called anything better than safety valves for pent up treason and vehicles for abuse of Government and Government measures ...".

শুধু তাই নয়, কোন শ্বেতাঙ্গ প্রশাসক কোন দেশীয়ের প্রতি সামান্য নমনীয় ব্যবহার করলেই তিনি 'বাবু' উপাধিতে ভূষিত হতেন।

সংকলিত সংবাদগুলিতে কয়েকটি মামলা ও কয়েকজন ব্যক্তির বিষয়ে আলোচনা করা হয়েছে, বর্তমানে যার তেমন কোন ঐতিহাসিক মূল্য নেই। কিন্তু এতে সামগ্রিকভাবে ব্রিটিশ প্রশাসন ও প্রশাসক এবং এর বিপরীতে ভারতীয়দের অবস্থান সম্পর্কে পত্রিকার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গি স্পষ্টভাবে প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে।]

সংকলন

RETURN

Mr. Lyall, our energetic and zealous Magistrate returned last Wednesday night from the southern part of the division, where his presence had become necessary in consequence of the disturbed state of the country thereabouts, and we propose offering a few remarks on the general results of his tour. By a Resolution of the Government of Bengal, it would .... Megistrates and District Superintendents are to consider themselves personally responsible for dacoitees of a particular class and it was, we understand to quell a feeling of insecurity about the neighbourhood of Manickgunge that our Magistrate felt called upon to visit that portion of his charge. Of late, cases of a special nature have arisen which render detection of offences and their perpetrators exceedingly difficult and conviction, as a result, next to impossible. It has become the practice where ill-feeling exists between people, for the party believing himself to be injured to assemble his friends, raid into his enemy's neighbourhood, and leave upon the person of the invaded lasting tokens of his visit. Some of these incursions are attended with dacoity, some with murder. Identification of the perpetrators, at all times difficult, is rendered doubly so from the fact that, witnesses who will speak to the minutest incident in detail, refuse to identify the persons of offenders, and thus in many cases justice is defeated just when the chain of evidence appears to be complete. It is the frequency of such cases that necessitates unusual zeal and vigilance in district officers, and we must claim for Dacca, without the least presumption, a Magistrate who has never spared himself when exceptional exertion and sustained fatigue seemed to resolve themselves into elements of success in the prosecution of daring offenders. With a splendid physique, sustained by a constitution admirably adapted to the nature of the work in which he is engaged, our district Magistrate is a striking example of the power of endurance possessed by the sons of Great Britain. He is, perhaps, the most popular officer in Eastern Bengal. and, so far as total abnegation of self and sacrifice or personal comfort to the exigencies of the Service go, it would be difficult to find his equal and we think impossible to find his superior. Mr.

Lyall's recent visit, a friend informs us, is calculated to do much good. He left Dacca on the night of the 5th and returned on the night of the 11th instant, and during his absence has influenced some results which cannot but tell favourably. We learn that; the local *budmashes* have for some time so terrified the poorer and simpler lived ryots, as to neutralism all possibility of very damaging evidence being procurable to establish the perpetration of any particular offence by any identical individual. The truth is that for some time past the law has been trifled with and set at naught very largely. Native Magistrates have recently dismissed such a large percentage of cases as not proved, and so much immunity has apparently been offered to *budmashes*, that we are not surprised at the systematic terrorism attempted. We hope a strict enquiry by our District Magistrate into these evils will have the effect of suggesting measures for their eradication. It is perfectly natural that an ignorant villager should be compelled, under threats of violence to decline to identify even the most familiar *budmash* of his neighbourhood. He is afraid of a failure of justice, and the recent tendency of local administration has proved to him that, an offender need not necessarily be convicted even though taken red handed—there are so many loopholes of escape created—as if for the purpose—both by the law and its belongings, and in abject fear lest an escaped *suspect* should seek revenge for the evidence given against him. the unfortunate man is forced to hold with the hare and run with the hounds. He takes a middle course, and while furnishing damning evidence of the offence, breaks down lamentably when required to bring it home to the offender, and thus makes interest for himself with both sides. It is time this state of things should cease, and we believe Mr. Lyall is working efficiently towards its eradication. We learn that his presence has not only struck terror into evil-doers, but has tended very considerably to tranquilize the minds of many, who worked upon systematically by fear, were gradually being educated as abettors of crime under penalty of personal violence, destruction of property and those other numerous ills to which peaceably disposed citizens are often subject, because of their natural timidity springing from contact with bad characters.

15.4.1876

THE NATIVE PRESS

However generous a powerful Government may desire to appear in closing its eyes to the hostle journalistic criticism of which it is the subject, there is a point at which its forbearance must cause.

under penalty of implied indifference to character. It would be ungracious, as well as undignified, to press upon the attention of journalists, a constantly recurring sense of their liability to censorship ; it would be equally illiberal and impolitic to enforce precise conformity with the stringent rules the State ran always preseribe for the conduct of ... affecting to sit in judgment on its policy, but we venture to think that, the happy medium which distinguishes between chivalrous consciousness on the one hand and inexcusable apathy on the other, has been missed by Indian administrators. Conscious, perhaps of the purity of its actions our Government has affected—if it has not felt—a serene callousness to the opinions of the Native press, which exactly in proportion to the immunity it has enjoyed, has gradually assumed an attitude of antagonism to the ruling power which practically amounts to little short of feebly repressed disloyalty. Whether our rules began to think that the opinions of Vernacular journalists were couched in language that even official courtesy, strained to its utmost tension and dignity, enshrouded in its .... could hardly afford to disregard, we do not know, but it is certain that, about a couple of years back, the translated *precise* favored by the Government translator to the Anglo-Indian press generally was suppressed, and non-official Europeans were thus deprived of the only source whence it is possible to glean the opinions and feelings. Natives entertain regarding the administration of the country, as well as the tore and manner in which those opinions are expressed. Whether the withdrawal of this publication is attributable to timidity, to a consciousness that the public acts of public men cannot safely be subject to Native comment and European criticism thereon without reflecting seriously upon the political pilotage of the State, or whether our rulers fancied—rather may "we" not say dreaded?—that a license so unusually, extortionately free to the Native press might involve the concession of more freedom to Anglo-Indian journals, we cannot pretend to decide. Lord Northbrook, either confident of strength or conscious of weakness, withdrew the only real mirror that reflected Native journalistic feeling from public scrutiny, because journalists all over the country either exposed the falsehoods to which currency was thus given, or challenged Government to defend itself against unfounded and atrocious attacks from vernacular penny ... The situation becoming unpleasant. Lord Northbrook,[৩৬] with a want of courage for which his administration of Indian affairs was remarkable resorted to a subterfuge which would put to shame a parish beadle. The consequence has been what any person of ordinary penetration might have foreseen. As a medium for overtly seditions and disafficted

views, the Vernacular press is doubly virulent, and whether it be the Viceroy, or the shosiess loafer in the street, no European escapes the full torrent of its filthy abuse. We do not even now advocate the institution of such mechanism as shall silence the Native press or even emasculate its independence—supposing it even to have possessed any—but it strikes us very forcibly that, the time has come when a check should be interposed to prevent the spread of disaffection among the Natives and among the most effective steps to this end is one that must directly or remotely curtail the insane freedom of criticism the Native press now enjoys. No Government subject to parliamentary scrutiny and valuing the opinion of a British public, whether at home or abroad, would attempt to circumscribe the liberty of the press as an exponent of publie opinion, but the point which must of all .... influence the fate of the Vernacular press is—can it be considered an intelligent reflex of educated Native opinion? We fear that ninety-nine precent of the Native papers can scarcely be called anything better than safety valves for pent up treason and vehicles for abuse of Government and Governmental measures, and the balance we should pronounce as reproducing the incoherent utterances of men totally incapable of offering any well-digested suggestion involving important administrative principles. The acute sense of wrong under which Lord Northbrook suffered on the slightest provocation, his nervous sensitiveness, to adverse criticism and his more than morbid leaning towards a habit many degrees removed from magnanimity, eminently disqualified him for the high appointment to which, in a moment of irrational egotism be aspired, and the best proof of his utter unfitness for his place may be found in his inability to stifle the feebly though scurrilously expressed detraction of his Indian career that found a thousand echoes through the land until the alleged cause of his ... became public property. Too generous to smite a fallen foe, too brave to hold up to ... a self-confessed invalid, who could not but have felt his own deficiencies, and that most deeply, the press was silent when it might have exposed the incapacity of the man who was, and was never intended to be anything beyond—the Secretary of State's puppet. But we wish to write no evil of the absent. He is away and India is well rid of him. What we want to know is—are his misdeeds to survive his political Indian death. His Excellency Lord Lytton[৩৭] has, according to our humble opinion and we write of .. under correction—one of two alternatives before him. he must either abolish the secret system and appoint a censorship over the Vernacular press or he must accept the ... of imitator to the weakest imbecile we over saw occupying a post of authority.

18.5.1876

CORRESPONDENCE

PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL TIMES

Sir,—The Deputy-Magistrate of Moonsheegunge is on his tour. Chokidaree Punchaits are going to be formed in every village, police-officers submitting the names of persons for appointment, to the Deputy-Magistrate. In several places names of gentlemen are indiscriminately going to be associated with those of low people in Punchaitships. I have heard complaints from some gentlemen, who deem it a kind of punishment to be thus associated. If the punchaits have anything material to do, the Deputy-Magistrate ought to exercise more discretion in appointing them.

I learn from a friend at Mandaripoor, that, some sub-engineers took up their quarters at the sub-division for the purpose of carrying on causal work, to open a direct communication between the Ganges and Megna rivers. Four tide-gauges have been placed by them, at Mastabapoor, Mandaripoor, Kalicapoor and Chundipoor, on the rivers Kumar and Areal Kha. Some gange readers, as they are called, are apparently taking advantage of the absence of their superior. As I am informed, some of them charge every country boat that happens to go by his gange, with a certain rate, something in the shape of toll. Of course, he never ventures to demand anything from those boats in which men likely to protest may be found : the ignorant and innocent boatmen, as they see *lal pagrees* and Lat shaheb's men (so they denominate every Government servant) think there must be some law about it, and pay up the rate without a whimper. If the above facts be true, it is a great abuse. The officers of the canal should interfere, or competent authorities should take notice of it.

Bierampoor.
The 20th June, 1876

24.6.1876

POOR MR. KIRKWOOD

Now that Mr. Kirkwood has been reduced from an acting to his own substantive rank in the Civil Service, there are not wanting those who would gladly see him undergo some heavier visitation of the Lieutenant Governor's displeasure. A Native edited paper, declares it is in possession of certain facts in relation to Mr. Webster, whom Mr. Kirkwood supported against the local Magistrate of Chittagong who had fined him Rs. 500. Perhaps our readers are

already aware that Mr. Webster, in self-defence, fired at and hit some Natives who had "small-ganged" him and were theretening his life. He should have been acquitted and thanked for having ably supported the English character for pluck and nerve in moments the English peril. The Magistrate does not appear to have acted with much wisdom. Of course, with the Viceregal lash impending, we cannot expect Magistrates and judges to act impartially in cases where Europeans are defendants and Natives plaintiffs. The guilt of a white man—if he is complained against by a Native—will probably hence-forward conclusion—and he should be placed, not upon his trial, but upon his defence. Apparently, it will be superfluous to adduce evidence in support of the prosecution now-a-days. The Governor-General evidently has a leaning towards holding a white man guilty till he is proved to be innocent, and to giving the *prosecution* the benefit of any doubt that may arise ; so Europeans need not trouble about a defence, but acknowledge themselves guilty without the necessary farce of a trial. We have read of racoons in America that got to regard a certain military sportsman as such a dead shot, that, on his approaching a tree, the racoon used to call out, "You needn't tire, Colonel ; I'll come down." Magistrates are for the future to be the Judicial sportsmen of India and Europeans the racoons.

12.8.1876

(*Communicated*)

EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES

The subject of employing Natives of India in the higher grades of the Covenanted Service is exciting warm discussion both in England and in this country, more especially in the latter, where race antipathy appears to rage very strongly. In England, the feeling of the nation seems to incline in favour of the Natives, while in India, the majority of the Anglo-Indians are crying down the idea of elevating the Natives to those appointments which have so long been their exclusive booty. The few Anglo-Indians who advocate Native right in the matter of these higher appointments are as vehement in their language as the opposite party, an attitude that is to be regretted. We do not think the advocacy of a just cause needs the aid of strong language, if the facts and arguments brought forward are incontrovertible. Strong language often injures, but never benefits the cause advocated. We would therefore strongly advise both parties to refrain injures, but never benefits the cause advocated. We would therefore strongly advise both parties to refrain from pursuing a course so suicidal to the

respective objects they have in view. Now, as regards the feeling in England, we find the Secretary of State for India impressing on the minds of the English nation to regard the appointment of the Natives of India to the higher appointments of the Covenanted Service as a beneficial measure, and one that ought to be rejoiced in by England. From conversation held by him with home of the gentlemen of the staff of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales during his visit to India, the Secretary of Statė has been painfully convinced that a great coldness existed in the feelings of the governing and the governed class in India towards each other, which nothing but a free intercourse on a footing of equality can dispel, and he considers that the best mode of effecting such a desirable change is to elevate the tried and the most deserving of the Natives to the higher appointments in the State. The Secretary of State's opinion is shared by many eminent persons in England, and we believe, with sound reason. Now, let us turn our attention to the arguments and facts brought forward by that large section of the Anglo-Indians who oppose the elevation of the Natives to superior covenanted appointments. In the first place, it says that the Natives are corrupt and that every one of them has his price. This, we admit, was true in times when the few Natives who were placed in situations of trust and responsibility with their official and social positions. But in those times, Europeans and East Indians occupying similar appointments on similar scales of pay, were also never above their price, to say nothing of the early higher officials under the East India Company's regime. Happily, however, those times have passed away never to return, and with them the evils which then existed. Take for instance, the case of the Munsiffs. When their pay was only fifty rupees per mensem in the third grade, one hundred in the second, and one hundred and fifty in the first, when it was impossible for them to live in a style befitting their rank as *Hakeems*, justce, we admit, was sold to the highest bidder whenever an opportunity offered for that being done with impunity, not only by Native, but also by European and Eurasian, holders of such appointments. The same may be said of the other ill-paid Uncovenanted servants of the State in those unprincipled, or looseprincipled times. We know and have heard of several instances of this nature, and do not pretend to deny them. But look at the beneficial change which has taken place ever since the pay of the Munsiffs and other Uncoventated Officers .... the Munsiffs, Small Cause Courts Judges, SubJudges, Deputy-Magistrates, Deputy-Collectors, and other Uncovenanted Officers and the upright manner in which their functions are performed. Can any one insinuate the slightest taint of corruption against

them? These Native Uncovenanted Officers, with a very few exceptions, stand high in the estimation of their official superiors and of Government as well as of their countrymen generally. True, the Natives are a degenerate people as compared to Europeans, and it is the Europeans who have raised the Natives to their present improved condition and it is they alone who can raise the latter to their own standard. Natives who have successively been raised to a seat on the Bench of the High Court, have amply recompensed the discrimination of those who selected them for that high post by proving their fitness to fill it with credit. If the further trial of placing the most tried and talented Natives in the higher appointments of the Covenanted Service be made, it will, we are positive, fairly prove that, thanks to Western knowledge and civilization, the time has come for them to be trusted with a larger share in the administration of the affairs of their own country. We do not advocate exclusive privilege for the Natives as the anglo-Indians do for themselves. All we ask is that, since the English have undertaken of their own free will to raise the Natives in the scale of nations by infusing into them Western knowledge, by admitting them to equal privileges with themselves, the repeated promises made to ameliorate their condition should be fulfilled. It is not sufficient that the English have given the Natives superior education, good Government and good laws ; that have given peace, security of life and property ; they should also raise Natives to their own level in the participation of the Government of India as they become fit for it. We have no objection to any Anglo-Indian holding an appointment in the Government service according to his merit, but let there be no hindrance to a Native doing the same, all the circumstances, save of colour and creed, being equal. We do not wish the Anglo-Indians to sink to the level of the Natives, but to raise the latter to their own. We acknowledge that, whatever improvement has taken place in the Natives is solely due to the governing class, but it must not be thought for a moment that enough has been done in this respect. We quite agree that the masses of this country have more confidence and more respect in the acts of a European Government officer than in those of a Native officer. But this arises from the combined facts of the ignorance of the masses, and of very few Native officers having yet been placed in higher appointments under the government. The unlettered classes in their ignorance naturally imagine that their more fortunate countrymen cannot have improved so much as to be placed on a level with Europeans, and the fact of not seeing any of the former in such higher appointments as are exclusively filled by Europeans, strengthens that imagination into a strong belief—

hence their larger faith in a European. Let them but have opportunities to observe that there are among their countrymen person who can fill the higher appointments in the Covenanted Service, and discharge their functions with credit and honour equal with that of European officers, and they will soon begin to have the same confidence in them as they have in their countrymen who are now occupying positions in the Uncovenanted Service. They have seen for some years how the Native subjudges small Court Judges, Munsiff, Deputy-Magistrates and Deputy-Collectors perform their duties, and they now have full confidence in these officers. Let them have the same opportunities of forming their opinions of their countrymen when placed in superior appointments, and we have no doubt the same result will follow, as we verily believe there are Natives who can fill those appointments with credit and honour not only to themselves but to their country. The main charge against Native Character—corruption—does not now stand good, at least as regards, though it may still be found in vogue among the ill-paid Amlahs and Police Subordinates. This vice was contracted under the Mahomedan misrule, and was in full swing during the earlier periods of the English Government. But after having raised the Natives in this, as well as in many other respects, let them not sink again into the same degraded state in when the English first found them, for want of wider scope for the exercise of their improved talents and integrity. Indians should share in the loaves and fishes of the State in proportion so their respective merits. We advocate no party cause, all we ask for is fair play to both Natives and Anglo-Indians, consistently with good Government and justice to the canditates.

29.7.1876

Mr. McGREGOR'S CASE

One of the least agreeable conditions of non-official life in this country, is a haunting conviction of never being entirely free from the uncomfortable suspicion of being a hater of one's species. Be he Englishman or what be may, the most placed or the worst tempered, he is invariably regarded—if a non-official European—as a possible native-slayer. The popular feeling has been reticent for years, but lately, it has taken from and direction in a way little calculated to ensure confidence. and when once suspicion ripens into accusation, it is hard to stay the torrent of indignation that breaks out into reproach against the suspected offender. And the feeling of hatred—race-hatred, for it is nothing less—not notified with mere accusation, demands may, refuses to be satisfied with

the verdict of a jury after the victim of malice has been tried and acquitted, or may.. punished, as Natives fancy, ... iadequately. Mr. McGregor's case illustrates this phase of Indian life very aptly. He was accused of murdering a coolie by striking him, repeatedly and with brutal persistence, a number of blow in a variety of ways till the man was past all hope of recovery. There were not wanting those who encouraged the idea of his guilt, till it grew to be a settled conviction in their minds that, he did, with fixed and deliberate intention, compass a fellow-creature's death. In reading over the recorded evidence carefully, one is struck with the palpable exaggeration of the native deponents. In the first instance, it is noticeable that, all the Native testimony goes to show that the deceased was struck with the fist and that his jaw was fractured, that his ribs were broken, that his injuries were such as must have resulted fatally, and that in a very short space of time ; but that not a syllable of all this is entitled to credence is amply established Mr. Mc.Gregor strike deceased, says the beating lasted half an hour or an hour, at the expiration of which time he had lost the power to articulate, could neither sit nor stand and could "simply breathe." Such is the deposition of an eye-witness named Bhugbut—a garden sirdar. Another eye witness—Beistub—a coolie, says that the sahib desired the garden *chowkeydar* to bury deceased's body secretly in the jungle ; that the right cheek bone was loosened by a kick after deceased had been knocked down ; that prisoner trod on deceased's face with his heel ; that some ribs on the right side were broken ; that the ribs on the left side also shook ; and likewise testified to sundry other hurts, cuts, bruises and injuries which, if inflicted, must have manifested themselves, if not to the ignorant, certainly to the experienced professional eye. Soakim, another coolie, deposed that a bone was broken in the ribs ; that bones were broken when deceased was struck. "I saw the right cheek bone broken and blood congealed at the back" ; and he speaks to "a great number of blows" being given. Several other Native witnesses spoke to the condition of deceased while in hosipital, in a spirit which seemed to imply that he had been the victim of great brutality. When, however, we come to the evidence of the only European witness, and of course, the only one whose oath can be believed, what a very different aspect the case assumes. Dr. Doyle, Civil Surgeon of Dibrugarh, deposes that he examined the dead body of Rahamet Ollah and observed four marks on the back which might have been caused by strokes with a light cane or whip. There were likewise three marks on the right cheek, one of which looked like a cane mark, but he did not think it was. He felt the cheek, but did not find any injury to the bone.

The scratches on the right cheek would not have been caused by a blow from the fist or foot. he examined the ribs and found them on both sides *uninjured* and healthy. The external marks he observed on the body were not, in his opinion, sufficient or likely, to cause the death of the deceased. In his opinion, the man died from debility aggravated by diarrhia. He, moreover, stated that, a beating might accelerate the death of a man who was suffering as he had described and that, at the time of beating, it was possible a nervous shock might be sufficient to accelerate death in a man so debilitated. In cross examination, Dr. Doyle said that, the shock would not cause the death of a man in ordinary health. In almost every part of his deposition the Civil Surgeon states something that can be turned to good account for the defendant, and that divests the charge against him of the element of premeditated brutality sought to be imported into it by the prosecution and its witnesses. In spite, however, of this very favourable testimony, the unfortunate young man who had already been imprisoned two months, was sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. This disgraceful scandal could have been brought about only by a Judge bent upon currying favour with the Natives by straining his conscience to the infliction of a sentence out of all proportion to the offence, which last would have been amply condoned by a fine of the one hundred rupees at the outside. Mr. McGregor did not know, and could not have known that four light blows with a thin cane would have imparted a shock to the deceased's system calculated to accelerte his death ; he was not aware of the man's debilitated condition, nor was any complaint made to him that Rahamet Ollah was incapable of completing his full quantum of work ; he had the usual number of nuls to hoe and invariably fell short of his assigned task. Had the sirdar who superintended his work reported his incapacity, we think it most unlikely that Mr. McGregor would have molested him in any respect. As manager of the garden, Mr. McGregor was bound to see that the coolies did their best to serve the interests of their principals ; he was consequently actuated ... for his employers and not by any feeling of animosity against deceased ; it was a desire to enforce the rule that every man should honestly perform his task according to the *nerrick* then in force, that prompted Mr. McGregor to use violence. Under the impression that he was punishing indolence, he very unfortunately and very improperly took the law into his own hands, but he should have credit for good intentions and for his ignorance that his act could lead to fatal consequences. Viewed in the light of these facts, his sentence appears to us unnecessarily harsh, and ridiculously out of all symmetry with reason and justice. Section

319 of the *Indian Penal Code* is entirely superfluous. It describes the offence of "hurt" as the causing of "bodily pain, disease, or infirmity," but it is not a penal section and there is no penalty attaching to *hurt*. A person must be guilty of more than hurt before he can be punished for it, that is that, in order to be brought within the purview of section 319, he must actually be guilty of something more than the section defines. Thus, to be punished for hurt he must be brought with in the purview of section 321 :—

"Whoever does any act with the intention of there by causing hurt to any person, or with the knowledge that he is likely thereby to cause hurt to any person, and does thereby cause hurt to any person, is said "voluntarily to cause hurt."

And the punishment of such offence may extend to imprisonment for one year, or to fine or to both. Now the question for the jury to decide, upon the facts, resolved itself into this—did Mr. McGregor *intentionally* cause bodily pain and what was the nature of the pain thus intentionally caused contemplated to be? A person may prick another's finger with a pin ; the wound thus caused may mortify and the patient die. No doubt, the pricker would be, at the very least, amenable to section 319 read by the light of section 321—he intended to and did cause bodily pain but of what character and under the circumstances would a jury find him guilty and would and impartial Judge sentence him to six months' rigorous imprisonment. The jury in Mr. McGregor's case, without retiring, acquited him of the three first counts—culpable homicide, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, and grievous hurt--but found him guilty of the 4th ... that of voluntarily causing hurt, and recommended him to mercy in consideration of the long imprisonment he had already undergone. To this recommendation no effect was given, and the prisoner is practically in the position of one sentenced to seventy-five percent of the longest term of imprisonment that can be inflicted under section 323. He already had two months before trial in anticipation of his guilt, and adding this to the present six months, we have the strange fact of a gentle man sentenced practically to six months rigorous and two months' simple imprisonment, for inflicting upon a garden coolie four strokes with a light rattan, the effect of which might possibly have been, but was not proved to have been, the production of a shock to the nervous system calculated to acelerate the death of a person then dying of debility aggravated by diarrhoea! This is what our Aryan brethren term *inadequate* punishment! Some other features of grave inconsistency occur to us in the case, which we have no time to notice ... morning.

8.12 1877

CORRESPONDENCE

NATIVE ADULATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL TIMES

SIR,

Last issue of the Calcutta Gazette notifies that the services of Baboo Obhoy Chundra Das[৩৮], our Personal Assistant to the Commissioner are placed at the disposal of the Board of Revenue for employment on special duty with effect from the 1st January, 1878. No doubt the inhabitants of East Bengal will rejoice that the Government have thus shown an appreciation of the Baboo's services, but it will prove a dead loss to the Dacca Division. What will be Bengal's gain, will be individually our loss. As regards the Baboo's services to the State, Government can well bear testimony. But it is for us, the people of East Bengal, to bear testimony to his invaluable and unceasing services in the cause of his country and fellow-brethren. Baboo Obhoy Chundra Das was the Assistant to the Commissioner of Chittagong for upwards of 10 years. There he was rightly regarded by the Native community both Hindoo and Mahomedan as their respected leader and guardian. The European community regarded him as a reliable counsellor and their medium of communication with the native community. In 1862, he represented Chittagong at the Great exhibition that was held in Calcutta. He was the life and soul of all public movements, be it a Dispensary, School, Exhibition or any other subject of public benefit. All subjects of social reform had his cordial support. In 1865, Obhoy Baboo was transferred to Dacca and since then until now, who can deny that the baboo has served ... and well for his countrymen. He received a Medal from the Paris Exhibition Committee for his services in obtaining the best things from the Dacca Division to be exhibited at Paris. In 1866. When there was scarcity here, Obhoy Baboo with Mr. Wise, were the leaders of the famine committee and the trustees of the famine Fund. In 1874, and again this year, he is the leading member of the local Famine committees. The East Bengal Brahmo Shomaj Hall is one of the monuments of his labors. When in 1871, some of the gentlemen of this place formed into an amateur, Theatre Company with the sole objects of providing innocent amusements to the people of Dacca, they did not know with what success his endeavours met. For Obhoy Baboo never knows, to lend his name without taking interest in the subject. It has gradually now come to this that his name only, is a sure guarantee of success. Thus the East Bengal Theatre Hall stands conspicuous as another great monument of his labours. This

Hall now stands as the Public hall of Dacca. The Northbrook Hall is being made. But to whom do we principally owe the proposed Hall. It is to Baboo Obhoy Chunder. It was his original proposition and he has worked and fought hard to give us a public pucca Hall, and as the secretary of the Executive Committee, he has worked ... within the course of a year here we have the Hall. At the inaugural public meeting of the Bikrumpore Hitasadhini Sova, he was elected its President and he has faithfully worked for its good. His own native village—Lonesingh—owes to him all improvements and conveniences ; be it in the shape of a Dispenasary, Road, School or social Reform. The pernicious system of marriage amongst coolin Brahmins drew his attention and he read a valuable paper on "Koolinism" at a meeting of the Dacca Institute, of which he was the only native Vice-President. Since then he has been silently working to remedy the evil, and has lately partially succeeded and caused the celebration of 3 marriages between different "mels." I will not go into more details, suffice it to say, that he is held by the whole Native community of whatever denomination and age in very high esteem. He was the trusted general counsellor, and of late times he has occupied the chair of almost all Native meetings, which have for some times past, been held at Dacca, without any connection with Politics. There is scarcely any zemindar or Government officer in Chittagong, or Dacca divisions who have not benefitted himself by his sound and wise advice. The European Community have not been slow to appreciate his services. They have also given due weights to his opinions ; and whenever they needed any help from the native community, they, applied to him and readily got it. I have myself heard several Englishmen talking in very high terms of Obhoy Baboo. Mr. Editor, I now ask that, as Baboo Obhoy Chunder is leaving Dacca for good, ought we not to show some appreciation of his services. I think the leaders of both the Native and European community ought to convene a monster meeting and to raise subscriptions to found an useful institution commemorating his name. I also think that funds should be raised to have full size likeness drawn of him to be hung up in the Public Halls of Dacca We anxiously await to read what you have to say on the subject.

Dacca
The 15th December, 1877

Your's faithfully
P. C S.

[We should ordinarily have stuffed this letter to pass unnoticed. There are two reasons, however, why we append the following remarks. Firstly, the letter contains certain inaccuracies.

The eulogised Baboo is no doubt a very excellent public servant, but he is far from the ubiquitous being here represented. The idea of a reading hall for the general public of Dacca certainly never originated with him, nor can we call him the leading member of the local famine committees, though he may be the leading Hindoo member. We have not the very least objection to the Natives of Dacca meeting to express their sense of personal gratitude or admiration at any time and place appointed for the ovation, but it would be quite out of place for Europeans to support any such movement. Our correspondent must allow us to know something of the Baboo's private and public worth both in Chittagong and Dacca. It is for his Friends to judge whether it would be wise, under the circumstances, to invite the pressence of Europeans. Secondly, we cannot see why the Baboo should be honoured in the manner P.C.S., proposes. Reduced to their practical dimensions, his labours can hardly be said to demand special recognition, and assuredly not from Europeans. It seems strange to us that, with the Baboo's merits, which would appear according to his eulogist to invest him with special claims on the sympathy of Government, he should have been overlooked for so many years. Government is Native mad ; and we feel sure that, did this serious and faithful servant of the sate poses but half the merit accredited to him the fact of his neglect till officially disqualified for work—he must be considerably over fifty years of age would scarcely have escaped notice, or the Baboo's promotion and reward. We regret we are unable to say more than that the Personal Assistant having discharged his duties efficiently, has been amply paid for his service. Ed. B. T.]

LONGEVITY

Some unlucky Deputy-Magistrate in Chittagong has published a speech wherein he eulogises Mr. Eden[৩৯] *ad nauseam* ; for which a Native paper is down upon him with all the vehemence a limited knowledge of English is able to compass. Says the indignant one :

"An educated man and a deputy-magistrate ought to be ashamed of speaking such trash as he did, after 100 years of association with Englishmen."

The Baboo uttered his trash, perhaps, because his association with Englishmen extended to only 100 years. In the course of another half-a-dozen centuries, when his experience matures, we may hope for better things from him. Another Native paper calls the stricture just quoted, "a sharp lash." Perhaps it is, though we are in happy ignorance of what a *sharp* lash can be. The *Hindoo*

Patriot[80] would possibly call this style of hard hitting—*kicking with a sardonic grin.*

18.5.1878

PAINT AND FEATHERS

The spectacle of Natives of India posing before an English audience in Kensel Green as emancipators of their country from the tyrant's thrall, was too full of novelty not to attract a sort of garthering more remarkable for fun and exuberance of animal spirits than that staid, sober, grave deportment which the people of this country are apt to assume when dealing with matters affecting what it gratifies their vanity to term their "rights." A recent meeting at Kensal Green illustrates in an unmistakable manner how a London mob is apt to appreciate the patriotic efforts of some "Native Indian gentlemen" who in a weak moment met to protest against the Vernacular Press Bill. Baboo, —or Mr., as it is now the fashion to designate our Aryan brethren—G. M. Tagore,[৮১] occupied the chair and the scene took place at what is called in the London vernacular "Victoriar 'All." Baboo Tagore appears to have been singularly unfortunate in the selection of his supporters as regards their externals, one looking like an animated skeleton, under the style and title of "Mr." Dutt, while another, calling himself Mr. Bose, was so diminutive a specimen of humanity as to excite mirth at the idea of his attitudinising before a London audience such as Kensal Green can produce, in the character of a political agitator. News of the meeting having got wind, large numbers of listeners flocked to the "All"—the confiding patriots assembled there for their special delectation having little notion of what was in store for them. These "Native gentlemen." unhappily for themselves and their cause, appeared in ordinary English costume, a circumstance that at once suggested to the roughs that the entire arrangement was neither more not less than an extemporised Christy Minstrel exhibition and no sooner did the "All" fill and the speakers appear than they were greeted with derisive langhter and loud cries of "Tune up, Sambo,"— "Old Joe kicking up behind and afore." and similar remarks which elicited peals of laughter, to the utter surprise and consternation of the speakers, who soon because paralysed by rage and fear. One facetious gentleman. who evidently believed in the cheering effect of ale on the human system, kept up a running fire of remarks that was simply irresistible ; and when Baboo Tagore quoted the "beautiful remarks of Dr. Watts." the beery gentleman consigned the reverend doctor to a locality where the presence of belligerent

dogs, bears, and lions is hardly to be expected even in the interests of good-will and kindly fellowship. Baboo Tagore was not more fortunate in his allusion to the "immortal bard of Avon" to which the response was "Stow the immortal bard of Avon and go on with your jaw." His reference to the body of which he is a member—the Bar—elicited an enthusiastic and very generally-echoed invitation to repair to the bar of a neighbouring "pub" and when the Baboo spoke of Sir Charles Metealfe, he was met, from all parts of the "All" with cries of "Who the 'ell is he!" Then and uproar ensued, amidst which the speaker resumed his meet. One Dhairgava followed, but his address was cut short by the audience, "howling a stave of a Negro melody". The rest of the proceedings appear to have partaken more of the hilarious than the sedate ; and whatever imression the orator may have made upon one another, they appear to have failed completely in moving their auditors to anything beyond uproarious jocularity. It is even said that baboo Tagore and his co-adjutor, Dhairgava, left the "All" with their powers of night considerably diminished, their optics having been victimised to the playful spirit of the roughs. Seven different reports of the meeting are said to have been sent to the *Daily News* by seven native Indian gentlemen, who, at the same time, tendered their service to that philanthropic journal as contributors, the paper in question being designated "the champion of a down-trodden race." We trust these Native Indian gentlemen have now seen enough of life in London to teach them, that their ravings, however well appreciated by a half-educated set of Indian school-boys full of sentimental nonsense will find no favour in the eyes of a London rough ; and that intelligent public opinion in England is not to be reached by such appeals to it as figured in the vulgar demonstration at Victoria Hall. Baboodom seems not to be an exceptionally pet institution of the lower orders of the genus Briton.

18.5.1878

EXCELLENT AUTHORITIES

Indians are sometimes staggered at the boldness with which people at home, with no apparently special knowledge of India and its people, set themselves up as somebodies in any discussion upon Indian topics, involving intimate acquaintance with the country and its teeming populations, as diversified in creed and custom as the different dialects at the building of Babel. We are assured upon the most convincing testimony that, these persons can, at the utmost, possess but a superficial insight into Indian affairs ; that they can have little or no confidence in the reliability of their

boasted information, and that it can at best, be founded upon hearsay or derived from theory. We know that Indian geography is a sealed book to many, and that Indian social laws and institutions, to which English writers delight to refer so mysteriously, are, and must often be, to their minds, merely the vague outlines of hysterical sketches having for the most part, their conceptions in fanciful ideals. Why such imperfectly-informed persons with authority, is a puzzle that, ... themselves can solve. The unfortunate .... remains that they have just sufficient knowledge of their subjects to mislead, and to cause misunderstanding between really honest advocates of opposite views. A harmless and ludicrous instance of this is just being quoted in a remark of the *Journal of the National Indian Association,* which, alluding to the Trades' dinner in Calcutta, remarks that "the speeches were of a very interesting character, and not the least effective was that of the Hon'ble Kristodas Pal[৪২] Khan Bahadur, in replying to the toast of the Native press." Now, it is easy to see that the writer is so exceedingly ignorant as to be unable to distinguish between a Mahomedan and a Hindoo title. How can a Hindoo, a *Pal, be styled Khan*— a purely Mahomedan affix? Yet, this writer would not hesitate, in the columns of a paper pretending to reflect views focussed in a *National Indian Association,* to have the assurance to discuss such questions as the excerable Bill that his Excellency Lord Ripon and Baboos the Hon'ble W. W. Hunter[৪৩] and Ilbert[৪৪] would force upon India. And if in a paper professing a specialite in Indian political and social national life, we have ignorance so painfully demonstrated, as to confound a distinct and exclusively Mahomedan with a Hindoo title, we may. without difficulty, assess the value of criticisms upon matters affecting more important and immediate Indian interests, when emanating from such a source. Know-nothing busy-bodies, whose habit it is invariably to mind the business of other people, to the exclusion of their own, generally· succeed in antagonizing opinion, though rarely in deducing therefrom, any useful result, In the Ilbert Bill[৪৫] controversy, we have observed recurrent examples of this presumptuous assertion of special knowledge, by writers whose half-inspirations have simply landed them in difficulties out of which extrication has been impossible. If we read the speeches of Lords Lytton and Salisbury[৪৬] and compare them with the namby pamby utterances of such speakers as Lord Northbrook, we shall see this defect very clearly illustrated. What amuses us most, however, is that, a newspaper critique is seized upon with avidity, by a speaker, to learn his facts from authenticated sources, and always referred to as "excellent authority." Thus, we have scribblers, upon points they never dare

approach without manifesting an amount of ignorance simply astounding, quoted to us as "the best authority" whom we know from their writings to be mere novices in Indian history, and even as such inexcusably ignorant and self-sufficient.

19.5 1883

HAPPY THOUGHT

A conscientious Native journalist, objecting to trial by jury, bursts in to the following inspired strain—"if a Railway guard kicks a Native to death, or a planter bravely murders a helpless coolie, there is to be no justice towards the murdered man. This is disgraceful, and we put it to our excellent Viceroy and his advisers, whether such a scandal ought to replace a measure so really noble and generous in its conception as the original Bill." And yet, it has been a self exultant vaunt in all the Native papers that the Native-edited press, in its moderation, has been unparalleled. How poor would be our retaliation, if we retorted. Should a Native Magistrate be bullied out of his senses and another be bribed, what justice can be expected from either? Such cases have been known, whereas no instance has ever been proved of a planter murdering a coolie, though several a attempt have been made to establish charges of murder by the aid of perjury and conspiracy. Many such may be cited in which conviction must have followed, but for the fact that they were tried by Euglish Judges and juries assisted by able counsel.

27.2.1884

OUR JURY SYSTEM

If what most people say be correct, our Indian jury system ought to be a most perfect and efficient bulwark of protection, which experience has proved it not to be, unless as a loophole through which crime can be smuggled, in a mock, serio-comic judicial trial, as if for the purpose of proving how easily a wrongdoer can escape the penalty he has justly incurred by a wanton breach of law and mercy. In days when twelve good men and true sat deliberately to judge of a fellow-creature's culpability, and strove with honest desire to discharge a solemn duty with cleanly conscience, every one understood that, while society would be protected from violence, no unnecessary severity would be shown an accused person.Confidence was felt, in fact, both in the wisdom and justice of men selected for an office, the chief requisite of which is moral solidity of character, combined with intellectual capacity. Now-a-days, we fear we must admit that jurors do not inspire the same

confidence in their fitenss, owing, possibly, to a multitude of reasons, some few of which we may briefly examine. To begin, we think it must be admitted that, there has been a perceptible moral decadence in jurors of late years, and this we say without any disparagement to class, creed, or nationality. To be sure, a writer, however impartial, must feel a twinge of sympathy towards his own kindred and lean more kindly toward his own countrymen and friends ; but divesting our mind of all race feeling, we believe it cannot but be acknowledged that juries composed of five or nine persons—no matter of what material consisting—do not work so satisfactorily, as did the good dozen in days of yore. Men indiscriminately entered in a list, as fit to serve on trials, çan hardly be expected to answer, in respect to moral qualification and intellctual capacity, to the standard of proficiency that ought to be prescribed, and which we are assured would be practically prohibitive in Mofussil communities, where selection must neceessarily be very broad and liberal. We do not altogether agree in this principle. That Mofussil districts are less prolific in astute and accomplished cultivation, is compared with cities, may pass without question as granted, but that the country can furnish men of standard capability sufficient in number for all jury purposes, must also be accepted as an unanswerable argument. Indeed, so convinced are we that such is the case, that, we have for years past, advocated a jury system for Coroners' inquests, and we consider the country quite far enough advanced for the reception of such ordeals. It would be wholly unnecessary to abolish *post mortem* examinations. They might continue and be assisted in the manner we have indicated, and this might in time lead to very valuable results. Education has become so much the rage with all classes and conditions of men, that, in order to hold his own, one must, in sheer self-defence, cultivate his mind and try and keep beside the thought of the age. And as study has become engrafted on the life of India, so that no village or hamlet is without at least its indigenous school or schools, we cannot believe that any difficulty should be experience in selecting persons as jurors, who, by reason of cultured understanding might, in this manner, promotes the ends of justice and advance the interests of administration. We should suggest a complete reform in our jury system, as it is now constituted. It is, in our opinion, altogether a mistake to empanel by lot, subject to challenge. A far better plan would be to nominate men of known probity and let these be challenged, if necessary. By this means, some sort of a guaranty would be afforded the public, that none but person of certain calibre would be delegated with power to decide upon the issues of

life and death most responsible and highly important duty. As at present existing, our jury system contemplates no reserve or limit in eligibility ; in short, all are deemed competent to serve as jurors, whom a district Magistrate's subordinates enter in their list as such, without reference to qualification. Hence it is, that so many miscarriages of justice occur, and a scandal is created, which not seldom leads one to the inference that no Native can be trusted in matters of conscience— a sweeping denunciation that, like all such, must necessarily be unjust. There cannot be a question that we have in our midst, in this antiquated town of Dacca, men quite above suspicion, and in point of talent, unquestionably very superior to common average. Now these persons would not hesitate to act as conscience guided them, and we are *confident* would scorn the base idea of being tamperes with by any one, or of lending themselves to undue influences to pervert justice. But the point is to secure such men on life and death trials. At present our disability is in having four, perhaps five classes... divided. we believe, ... Those who persistenly and honestly close their ears to gup and gossip, and determine the issues placed before them upon evidence and upon nothing else. This is a community by no means so scarce as one may be apt to suspect. We are truly glad to be able to bear testimony to this fact. To their honour be it recorded, we have a goodly sprinkling of this class in our midst—men who may not, from motives of false delicacy, take the initiative against rascality,but who nevertheless would never suffer themselves to be made tools of for corrupt purposes. Our second group consists of men not dishonest in any direct sense, only exhibiting by their action how unfit they are to be entrusted with responsible functions. Weak and unstable of purpose, these individuals are easily swayed by private influences, or led into error by leaning, as they believe, upon stronger judgments. Not by any means bad of heart or corrupt of purpose, they may yet be moulded like wax, from absolute instability of principle and feebleness of will. No. 3 class is so nearly a kin to No. 2, that we hardly know how to distinguish very widely between them, save that number three may, with open eyes be led into error, and be made effectually to sacrifice conscience to false friendship. These are parasite who do anything to oblige, not only their so-called friends, but the great and powerful, and are so thoroughly bent upon self-interest, that they have no care or concern for those of any other class, or for the public welfare. Following these are persons who, while not actually accepting bribes directly, do so indirectly, by receiving presents through members of their family. Dishonest of intention though they be, they yet strive to preserve an external

semblance of respectability, and thus keep their platters clean on the outside. We are afraid we must pronounce this class to be as numerous, as it is treacherous and untrustworthy. Lastly, comes a miscellaneous set composed of every kind of rascal, who defies morality and openly bids for bribes Persons composing this class belong to the very dregs of Native society and are open to any and every evil influence. To trust such men as these to pronounce upon the guilt or innocence of any accused person, is simply to hold out a premium to scoundrelism. We believe our Native friends will agree that we have pretty faithfully represented the materials—class by class—from which Mofussil juries are selected. They cannot but admit the accuracy of our list, while, perhaps, scarcely able to suggest a remedy, which must speedily be done to meet the requirements necessitated by Mr. Ilbert's demoralized legislation. There need not be much uneasiness felt. Those who are ripe for local self-government, may surely furnish a reliable sessions jury.

23.4.1884

EXAGGERATED

Will our quasi-religious friend of the *liberal and the New Dispensation* tell us that he is in earnest in alleging that a story told by the *Bengales*[৪২] of a coolie couple—man and wife—committing suicide on a tea garden in Assam,is an incident that often repeats itself? To quote his own words :— "Such cases happen pretty frequently in that doomed province, and yet the law is powerless to check the evil. It is the law. however, that has created the slavery. Another *Nil Durpan*[৪৮] must blow the last trumpet over this hated institution." Considering how precarious is the bond of good fellowship between Natives and Europeans, in many instances, and how a little race hatred might set them at variance, all allusion ot *Nil Durpans* being desirable should be received with disapprobation, even reproof. Of course, we know that suicides are of infrequent occurrence in Assam ; that it is not a doomed province and that while a *Cha Durpan*[৪৯] could not possible do any good, it could, and would, be productive of an infinity of evil, much worse than short-sighted philanthropists purpose to neutralise by the publication of excitable pamphlets upon Native grievances.

12.12.85

INCONSISTANT

Criticism unfounded upon maturity of judgment, is apt to be misleading, and if severe, proportionately unjust. In a Native paper, we .. noticed that, exclusion of Natives from high office has already

told injuriously upon their abilities and character ; and as a result, "there is a dearth of great talent and higher moral qualities all over India." What is meant by "higher moral qualities," as contra-distinguished from lower moral qualities, we have no notion, but supposing them to mean virtues of a high grade, we can congratulate the writer of such a phrase upon having enunciated a great truth. He is perfectly correct in his allegation that India lacks great talent, as she does a high moral status, and this latter fact may be learned from every newspaper manager who may practically be consuled. It is nothing startling to be told all this, as it is a patent fact continually before us. ever sadly reminding us of its existence by new and varied phases of efflorescence. "Tis true ; 'tis pity. Pity 'tis, 'tis true." We would much rather record something pleasanter, but truth compels us to admit what we would fain controvert, if possible. To one point, however, we may object logically and we do so without hesitation. Read as this Native critic whom we have quoted puts his argument, one is driven to infer that, without inducements of high office being held out to them, Natives have proved comparatively stupid and immoral. Well, our critic must know his own countrymen better than we can, and if that be his deliberate opinion—supposing him not to be a disappointed place-hunter—we feel inclined to accept his verdict, though hardly to congratulate him upon the excellence of national characteristics and high moral tone possessed by his compatriots, as judged upon his ipse *dixit*.

6.3.1887

GALLANTRY

When it was first notified that Capt. Hearsey had "thrashed" an editor at Allahabad, we were certain that Native papers would be jubilant over his feat. Now it happens that, our Allahabad contemporary—*Pioneer*[৫০]—is a powerful opponent of that foolish body that styles itself the Indian National Congress[৫১], and that Captain Hearsey is, in his feeble way, a servile supporter of it—a Babu flatterer and sycophant, ready to do anything for popularity—hence, any one showing violence to a member of the *Pioneer's* staff, would naturally be exalted as a hero : this is a principle of Native justice. Captain Hearsey, being by repute a halfcaste, would be very likely, knowing all this, to earn for himself a notoriety in Native papers, by doing some act that would confer distinction upon him in Native eyes. With this view, he went to the *Pioneer* editor, and taking him by surprise, struck him while he was off his guard—as we read in contemporary columns. Now, if he did as

reported, he clearly proved that the imputation cast upon him of being a half-caste must have had some foundation in truth, for a more cowardly, un-English mode of attacking a man, it would be difficult to discover. Capt. Hearsey acted, not as a man, but as a cur, much after the style of a hired assassin, and he should have received a substantial instalment of his punishment, by being there and then fastened to a tree and well flogged by natives—his *bhai bund,* if what is said of him be true—before any case was instituted. We do not know how matters stand, and so, of course, cannot base our opinion upon actual facts, but upon what rumour says is correct. *If* Capt. Hearsey struck a man who was unprepared to receive his blow and did not suspect it was about to fall, he acted, as we have already declared and now repeat—like a cur and in the spirit of an assassin. He displayed sufficient British courage to face his supposed enemy and then his heart failed him and his Oriental nature triumphed. Such an act is characterised as being done by a "gallant Captain." Had this very identical gallant fellow so struck a Native journalist, he would have been designated—and most properly so—a brute and a coward. We read about him that he did this feat, because his mother was abused. Calling a man "brown" is a queer mode of abusing his mother. Capt. Hearsey, if a half-caste, would, of course, be likely to put a native interpretation upon the word, and read it as a dishonouring imputation cast upon one's immediate female ancestor. Were he not a half-caste, he could afford to laugh at such a term, as inapplicable to himself. We do not know and do not particularly care to know his breed, and his uncle's Hyder, one begins to speculate if his grand-father could have been styled Tippoo, especially, as he is said to belong to the aristocracy of Bengal—an aristocracy no one is likely to envy him. Probably, he will go home, or rather away from home after this little affair is adjusted.

16.1.1889

RATHER UNFAIR

Sir Lepel Griffin[৫২], in spite of his mean and cowardly pack of detractors in the Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular press, aided and abetted by some European-edited, but Native prejudice-tinctured journals can afford to treat their puny, childish efforts to disparage his merits, much as a lion would treat a body of wee lambs, linked in organisation to destroy him—with pitying, yet scornful contempt. Admittedly, there is scarcely a task easier than that of a self selected, flippant critic, who presumes to sit in judgment upon a man, whose thoughts are as far above theirs, as

Heaven is above earth, whose capacity, as compared with theirs, is as immensity to ....writers who have yet to learn the alphabet of a science he has mastered in its fullest details a Tritom among minnows, an intellectual giant among pigmies. We can easily account for this bull-baiting pursuit by a mob seeking to gain a modicum of ... by being supposed capable of abusing a greatman, even as a mangy street our might pride itself upon having once ... at a mastiff. This is only natural. A mutual admiration society is formed and each has comfort of other in ejaculatory phrases of admiration mutually endorsed. What could have induced our talented contemporary of Bombay—gazette to write so bitterly against Sir Lepel puzzles us. Our contemporary begins an article with a remark we are unable to endorse—regarding Sir Lepel's motives. He says that, by way of minimising the importance of the black man incident, Sir Lepel Griffin indites a long letter to the *Times* deprecating any notion that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji[৫৩] is worth notice, and asserting that, as a Parsee, he is in no way a representative of Indian people—a postulate simply impregnable. Finding himself cornered, our Bombay contemporary asks boldly—Who said he was? Lord Salisbury, when at Colchester, he "explained," and capped his Edinburgh indisscretion by stating that the candidate for Holborn was "the representative of a distant race," meaning thereby, not the Parsee community, but the people of India. Clumsiness, and want of "finish" of this method of explaining away a disagreeable epithet, uttered when our present Premier was "speaking roughly" in the Scottish capital, remarks our Bombay contemporary, struck everyone at the time, but Sir Lepal Griffin did not then, as he might very well have done, write to the *Times* to protest against Lord Salisbury's inconsiderateness in assigning to the candidate for the suffrages of Central Finsbury a representative character which did not rightly belong to him. It is rather late in the day to raise such a protest when it is found that political capital is being made of the affair. It is scarcely worth while to write to the papers to say that the banquet presided over by Lord Ripon is a political manoeuvre directed against Lord Salisbury. That goes without saying ; such are party manoeuvres all the world over, wherever representative institutions give to detractors a fair chance of turning out the "ins" and obtaining political power for themselves." If then, this be a mere trick, a device widely acknowledged as legitimate and as widely followed by diplomats, why blame Sir Lepel for adopting it? When Mr. Gladstone[৫৪] said "Hands off Austria!" the "insult to our old ally"- was the stock theme of every one who was anxious to discredit and defeat the then Ministry. If faults be committed by ministers, it is in accordance

with the eternal fitness of things that those who are opposed to them should magnify their offence and call upon Heaven to hasten their doom. What said Lord Randolph Churchill[৫৫] when he was in league with all the malcontents of the House to lead Lord Salisbury's predecessors a dog's life? "It is the business of an Opposition to oppose!" Our contemporay then sagely remarks, as though predicting a time when Sir Lepel may benefit by his admonition— Sir Lepel Griffin may yet be himself in Opposition, and then he will understand the mystery of all this. Even he may then think it not quite so absurd as he now deems it to speak of Parsees as in any way representative of India. In 1886, while still in this country, he was able to write very pretty things of the better half of the parsee community, whom he regarded as sharing with their Hindu sisters a foremost place in our Bombay civilisation. "Within the last twenty years," she said in his most winning accents, "we have seen in Bombay, which stands in the forefront of Indian civilisation, [our Allahabad friends will kindly note this] the greatest and most auspicious change, and Society there is brighte-ned by the charming and gracious presence of numerous Hindu and Parsee ladies." There was no "Black Man" then, and there were no "political manoeuvre" to be dreaded or denounced ; there was no Unionist seat in view. In two short years the writer of this idyll has got his eye on a constituency, and writes rousing political letters to the London papers." Sir Lepel merelysuits his line of advocacy to those contigencies he has been forced to meet unexpectedly.

6.2 1889

RATE PAYERS AND VOTERS MEETING

A translation of the resolution passd on the 17th Ult. Res. 1. So long as drains are not constructed it is impossible that the condition of the town shouid he improved to the desired extent. But the pecuniary circumstances and local state of the Municipality are such. that it is idle to expect the construction of drains within a very short time ; the meeting in therefore of opinion that the Municipality should bestir itself to provide means, by saving and retrenchment, for the removal of the aforesaid want. Res. 2. There being no drains at Dacca, the Municipality should be particularly careful about the clearance of the night soil. There are only 88 coolies and less than 300 Mehtars in the employ of the Municipality and there few men cannot properly clean the night soil of the whole town. The meeting therefore wishes that the number of the mehtars and coolies be increased, and the sanitary condition of the town placed on a better footing. Res. 3. The

condition of the by lanes of the town is extremely miserable. One of the principal causes of the great unhealthiness of the town in this miserable condition of the lanes ; but the Municipality, it is hardly too much to say, in entirely unmindful of these matters. On the otherhand, the Municipality is spending money with no stinted hand in improving the beauty of the Babubajar Road and the place on the eastern side of the Jalla. This simply shows the regard of the Municipality for external embellishments ....

3.3.1886

ACI III OF 1885

For thirteen years, under our Bengal Local Self-Government, Act III of 1885, has been in operation in Bengal. District Boards and Union Committees remained unchanged during last year, but Local Boards increased numerically, by one—from one hundred and four to one hundred and five, owing to reconstitution of a Local Board at Chuadanga in Nadia district. Area within jurisdiction of District and Local Boards and population of that area also remained identical, except for some trifling variation in figures for Balasore District Board. Number of members of District Board was seven hundred and ninety-five, our one greater than in 1897. Of these, one hundred and sighty-six held their seats ex-office, two hundred and eighty-one were nominated by Government, and three hundred and twenty-one were elected by Local Boards, against one hundred and eighty-six, two hundred and eighty, and three hundred and twenty-eight, respectively, in a previous year ; two hundred and fifty-seven of them being officials and five hundred and thirty eight non officials. Number of European or Eurasian members was one hundred and eighty-six against one hundred and eighty-three in 1897/98, remainder being natives of this country. Total number of meetings held by District Boards was five hundred and fifty-five, being sixteen less than in a previous year, and average attendance at each meeting was 105 against 107 in 1897/98. There was an improvement in number of meetings that had to be adjourned, and of those that proved abortive for want of a quorum, figures for last year being fifty-two against sixty one ... by District Board of Pabna (20) ; Saran, Muzaffarpur and Purnea District Boards come next, with nineteen meetings each, while Khulna, Jalpaiguri and Mymensingh show eighteen meetings each. In Midnapore, Murshidabad and Rajpur, number of meetings held, viz., eleven, six, and eleven, respectively, fell short of prescribed number of at least one meeting per month, a reason assigned by these last two District Boards being that there was not sufficient business to justify a call of more meetings. Local Boards had twelve hundred and fifty-nine

members, of whom one hundred and fifty-three were officials, and eleven hundred and six, non-officials, against one hundred and fifty-one and eleven hundred and two respectively, in 1897/98. Of this total number, thirty-nine sat as ex-office members, eight hundred and three were nominated by Government, and four hundred and seventeen were elected. Europeans or Eurasians held one hundred and seven and natives of India, eleven hundred and fifty-two seats. Local Boards called eleven hundred and seven meetings during last year or twenty-eight less than in 1897/98. Of this number, one hundred and eighty-seven had to be adjourned or proved abortive for want of a quorum, against two hundred and two in 1897/98. Sixty-three Local Boards failed to meet once a month, as against fifty-four in a previous year. Local Boards which met least often were Chuadanga, which held only one meeting, and Thakurgaon, which held three meetings during last year. Chuadanga Local Board, although reconstituted in January, 1898, did not begin work till close of 1898/99 : hence its small number of meetings. a reason assigned in reference to Thakurgaon, is that, as there were no important subjects to be considered, no more meetings of Local Boards was 5.2 against five in a proceeding year. Last year witnessed a fifth general election of members of Local Boards in all districts of Burdwan and Presidency Division, except Midnapore, and in district of Rajshahi, Pabna, Dacca, and Faridpur. Elections in Nadia alone are reported to have aroused general interest. As compared with 1897/98, number of Government servants on District Boards, decreased from two hundred and fifty-seven to two hundred and fifty-one ; and number of zamindar increased from two hundred and forty-four to two hundred and fifty-three. In case of local Boards, number of pleaders and mukhtears increased from three hundred to three hundred and forty-five, and Government pensioners decreased from thirty-three to twenty six. In other respects, there has been but little change. Nor was there much alteration in powers exercised by Local Boards. In Hooghly and Howrah, they were relieved respectively, of management of second-class roads and of conducting lower primary scholarship examination. In Murshidahad, management of roads in Berhampore and Jangipur was resumed. Local Boards in Rangpur were entrusted with supervision of pounds and ferries as an experimental measure. Power of distributing rewards on results of scholarship examinations was withdrawn from Local Boards in Faridpur district. Jamui and Benguserai Local Boards in Monghyr and Kishenganj and Arraria Local Boards in Purnea were given management of pounds in their respective jurisdictions.

27.1.1900

COREESPONDENCE

[*We are not responsible for any opinions expressed by our correspondents, nor do we, by inserting, endorse them. Authentication is neccessary, as a proof of good faith. Ed. B. T.*]

AN HONEST POLICEMAN

To the editor, Bengal Times

Sir—I am very pleased that, after many years, we have a Mussalman town Inspector of police—Munshi Jalal-uddin Ahmed—who has arrived here from Netrokona, Mymensingh. I hope we may have him for many years, as he is a respectable Zemindar of Mymensingh zillah. All the people of Dacca are satisfied with the way he discharges his duty. He takes trouble over his work, and makes no distinction between rich and poor. I have seen many Hindoo Inspectors, both Brahmins and Sudras, but many are drunkards. Therefore, from time to time, they have lost their appointment. Our district Superintendent, Mr. Tucker will, I hope, have Munshi Jalal-uddin here permanently. He is a proper Inspector for this district.

Dacca
21st March, 1900.

Yours faithfully
GOBHMOUCHK

24.3.1900

EUROPEAN CHAIRMAN

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—Last Wednesday, 4th April, our District Magistrate and collector, Mr. Rankin, was appointed Chairman of Dacca Municipality. We poor rate payers appeal to him in the interest of the Municipality. First—There is no urgent need for a health officer, were he dismissed, each Ward Commissioner will do the health officer's work of his own Ward as did a late Commissioner. Mr. Frangopou'o. He was always at work, Second. The present head clerk's pay should either be reduced or he should be dismissed, and another head-clerk be appointed on smaller pay. By these reductions poor rate-payers will benefit. We have not received any substantial good from our present health officer. We yet eat nut-oil bread, bad ghee in sweetmeats, impure milk, rotten fish, etc. Third.We wish to present our urgent business to the Chairman without any chupresees's interferece. We ask that the Chairman's office door will be open to the public as in the late Chairman, K. M.

Yousuff's time.We hope our food collector will be accessible to us. We are natives or black men, and fear a white men and for fifteen years, we have not seen any European, Chairman of the Municipality. This is the first step towards abolishing self-Government.

Dacca
6th April, 1900.

Yours faithfully
S. H. M. and A. R.

11.4.1900

MUNICIPAL

To the Editor, *Bengal Times.*

Sir— Mr. Rankin, the district Magistrate of Dacca, has after all, been elected Chairman of our Municipality. This has given entire satisfaction to the Dacca public except some diseffectd congrees Walah. The elected Commissioners tried their utmost to have one of their colleagues elected, but when they found that some of their own men deserted the camp, they became hopeless of their cause and voted in a body in favour of Mr, Rankin. So much so good. But the Vice-Chairmanship fell to the lot of one Debendra Nath Saha, who defeated Mr. Weatheral, a gentleman, much more competent than Debendra. I am glad to observe that the Chairman has begun work with rightdown earnestness. He is visiting lane and bye-lanes almost every morning, and trying to save the Dacca public from the stenches of dirty drains. The most unsatisfactory sanitary condition of the town will be, it is hoped, much improved during the present *regime.* The people of Dacca will be thankful to Mr. Rankin, if he can arouse the conservancy department out of their drowsiness and make the *methers* a little more amenable to discipline. I have another suggestion much more important to make in conriection with Public force in her Majesty's Service. has been quartered at Faridabad. A sergeant attached to the Volunteer corps residing at that place. died of cholera the other day. The sanitary condition of a neighbouring ... known as Kaparianagar is responsible for the outbreak of this malady. If the Chairman happen to walk by that street he will observe that no conservancy—cart ever turns up in that quarter. There is no arrangement made for removal of nightsoil or for supplying the people with pure water, it may be, at the expense of the State. If the Municipality look to this matter, the want may be removed. If the Government is desirous of preserving the health of soldiers residing in that quarter. the unsanitary conditions of all neighbouring places should be seen to at once, or

also outbreak of any epidemic diseases in the neighbourhood may tell seriously upon the health and lives of these soldiers.

Dacca
9th April, 1900.

Yours faithfully
PRO BONO PUBLICO.

11.4.1900

TRANSFER

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—I hear with much regret that, our most popular sub-divisional officer, Moulavi Mahamed Afidullah Shaheb is shorty to leave us. During his service for a little over a year, he displayed qualities highly satisfactory to all. His even-handed justice, impartial treatment of all, irrespective of caste and creed, strict adherence to truth and morality, polite and courteous behaviour and display of simplicity, all through his actions, reflect great credit upon him. Within a short time, by a conscientious discharge of his duties, he earned golden opinions from people of this sub-division. He was Chairman of our local Board, and he ever worked in harmony with all its members, never affording any room for dissatisfaction to any. He was all along kind to his subordinates. He was not a lover of power. He behaved well with the Honorary Magistrates. He is a worthy son of his worthy father, Moulavi Hazi Abdul Jubber, Khan Bahadur C.I.E, late prime Minister of the Begum of Bhopal. We wish Moulavi Saheb every success in his life.

Munshigonj
24. February, 1900.

Yours faithfully
VOX POPULI

সভা-সমিতি

[আধুনিক সমাজের বৈশিষ্ট্য হিসেবে অনেকেই সভাসমিতির কথা উল্লেখ করেছেন। কারণ, সামাজিক সংঘাতেই তার সৃষ্টি। এসব সভাসমিতির মূল নীতি, অনেকের মতে, "স্বাধীনতা, অবাধ আত্মপ্রকাশের ও পরস্পর মিলনের অধিকার।"[১]

সামাজিকভাবে ভারতে উনিশ শতকে, মধ্যশ্রেণীর মতামত সংগঠনে এবং বিভিন্ন সংস্কারমূলক কার্যকলাপের উদ্যোক্তা হিসেবে এ ধরনের অনেক সভাসমিতি স্থাপিত হয়েছিলো এবং গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলো সামাজিক সংস্কারে। পূর্ববঙ্গের মধ্যশ্রেণীর মতামত সংগঠনে, সামাজিক সংস্কার ও সমাজে সচলতা সৃষ্টির ব্যাপারে উনিশ শতকের সভাসমিতির গুরুত্ব অনস্বীকার্য।

অষ্টাদশ শতকের শেষের দিকে ইংরেজরাই উদ্যোগী হয়ে বাংলায় সভাসমিতি স্থাপন শুরু করেছিলেন। তারপর এ উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করেছিলেন পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষায় শিক্ষিত মধ্যশ্রেণী ও বিত্তবানরা।[২]

উনিশ শতকের সমাজ সংস্কৃতির প্রাণকেন্দ্র ছিল সভাসমিতি। সভাসমিতিই উনিশ শতকের ভারতকে দাঁড় করিয়েছিলো রাজনীতির মুখোমুখি।[৩] তবে, বাংলার সভাসমিতিগুলির কাজের ঝোঁক ছিল প্রধানত সামাজিক কর্মকাণ্ডের প্রতি। এগুলির চরিত্র সম্পর্কে আরো স্পষ্ট ধারণা মেলে সরকারি ভাষ্যে–শিক্ষার বিকাশের ফলেই পুরো দেশ জুড়ে (বাংলা) সভাসমিতি স্থাপিত হয়েছে ... তাদের মুখ্য উদ্দেশ্য খানিকটা ধোঁয়াটে তবে এটা স্পষ্ট যে, তাদের প্রধান আগ্রহ শিক্ষা ও সামাজিক বিষয়ে। রাজনীতির ক্ষেত্রে, বৃটিশ কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে, মানুষের ইচ্ছা ও স্বার্থই শুধু তুলে ধরার মধ্যে এগুলির ভূমিকা সীমিত। জাতীয় জীবনে সভাসমিতিগুলি চিন্তার আলোড়ন ও গতিশীলতার সৃষ্টি করেছে।[৪]

কলকাতায় রামমোহন রায়ের আত্মীয় সভা স্থাপনের মাধ্যমে বাংলার সভাসমিতির যাত্রা শুরু। পূর্ববঙ্গে উনিশশতকের দ্বিতীয়ার্ধে সভাসমিতিগুলি ধীরে ধীরে গড়ে উঠেছিলো এবং এর চরম বিকাশ হয়েছিলো ১৮৭০ থেকে ১৮৯০ এর মধ্যে। তাছাড়া পূর্ববঙ্গের সভাসমিতিগুলি শুধু এ অঞ্চলের প্রধান শহর ঢাকাতেই সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল না, মফস্বল বা গ্রামাঞ্চলেও এর সংখ্যা নেহাৎ কম ছিল না।[৫]]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. বিনয়ঘোষ, *বাংলার বিদ্বৎসমাজ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৭৮, পৃ. ৭৪।
২. ঐ, পৃ. ৫৮–৫৯।
৩. Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, Cambridge, 1918, p 194.
৪. টেম্পলের বক্তৃতা উদ্ধৃত হয়েছে, ঐ, পৃ. ২০৫।
৫. পূর্ববঙ্গের সভাসমিতির বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *উনিশ শতকের পূর্ব বাংলার সভাসমিতি*, ঢাকা, ১৩৮৪।

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BENGAL TIMES

Sir —I perfectly agree with the remarks you made in your last issue about the East.[৫৬] If locals sometimes contain exaggeration and not unoften misrepresentation of the existing state of things or dislikings of the writer. To puff a friends cause is favourite pastime with it. What greater misrepresantation there could be than the statement which it makes ... Mr. Woodraw—"In the afternoon he received a deputation from the Peoples Association, representing the differnt sections of the Hindu Community on the subject of the waking hours in the college and collegiate school." I doubt what the *East* calls the Peoples Association exists at all. For the last twelve months I have not heard of it. The people of the massess are quite ignorant about it. None of the influential citizens belong to it. A couple or so of pushing young men pitch forked themseles into a combiantion under the feigned epithet of a Deputation from the Peoples Association. Again when it writes, "The Dacca People Association[৫৭] has resolved to memorialize the Government of Bengal on the Bengal Municipal Bill and the Agrarian Disturbance Bill.' We all know what was done for this exploit of memorializing. A notice was issued containing the names of some ten or twelve favoured individuals (all of them birds of migration with the exception of two) ... I perfectly agree with what commissioner of the Dacca Division said to another Deputation from this very Peoples Association that went to present an address to his Excellency the viceroy on the occasion of his visit to this town, that it didnot represent the people.

Dacca — Yours Faithfully
11th April 1876 — A Hindoo

12.4.1876

NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION

A meeting to establish Dacca, a branch of the above association, was held in the East Bengal Theatre, on the night of the 18th instant. The state of the weather was very unfavourable, and the ... at which the Meeting had been announced to begin, was very late. These two facts taken together, probably account for the (for Dacca at least) comparatively small attendance, although the audience, such as it was, was select. The officiating commissioner took the

chair at ten minutes 9 o'clock, and opened the meeting by calling our Baboo Tarini Kumar Ghose. M. A. to state the projects of the Association This he did, in a very neat speech which was characterised throughout by chasteness and terseness of language, originality of thought, modesty of demeanour and soundness of judgment ; qualities by not means common in the oratorical efforts even of educated Natives. The address, which showed signs of careful praparation, had no smell of the ... shelf about it, and Baboo Tarini's good sense was shown, quite as much in what he did not say, as in what he said.

The next speaker, was Baboo Jogoboudhu Bhuttacharihee, M. A., a young man of good attainments, and fair promise ; but probably not much accustomed to public speaking. This speaker lamented the wide gulf of asparation between the European and the Native, and commented severely on the conduct of Europeans towards the Native. His remarke would have been more effective, had they been more discriminating Of Europeans—the baser sort—his statements were unquestionably true, and it is much to be regretted that there should be and foundation for them. But even the speaker, on reflections, would probably admit that, only very large qualification could give his remarks any claim to correctness. We are by no means disposed to judge severly the maiden oratorical efforts of a young man who has distinguished himself in the schools, and who has evidently the makings of a good speaker and a useful man in him. But candour compels us to notice the latter part of his effusion and it is only a kindness to point out, once for all, now entirely unbecoming in a Public Meeting, are fulsome adulations indulged in towards the Chairman. To no one, by any possibility could they have been more unacceptable than to Mr. Peacock. Doubtless, the Commissioner has, and deserves, the respect of the Native community. But, whom Baboo Jogobundhu gravely tells us that the bridge which is to span the gulf between European and Native, has been discovered in the fact that. the Officiating Commissiner of Dacca has consented to become President of the Dacca branch of the National Indian Association, he ought to be aware, that he is talking twiddles of a very foolish and offensive kind.

The next speaker was the Rev. A. McKenna. who remarked on the absence of some of the gentlemen. Whose names were down to speak. His name, was sixth on the list, and allowing for the Chairman's introductory remarks. for Baboo Tarini's address, and for the speaker who had to proceed him, he had felt pretty sure that he would not be called upon at all. But he was very glad to have the opportunity of expressing his hearty sympathy with the objects of the Association. At the same time, he had felt the difficulty

already alluded to by a previous speaker of the saving clause of the Programme of the Association. So far as religion was concerned, it was hardly likely in an Association of educated men such as this professed to be, that any one member would seek to obtrude his particular religious views on any other member. Good sense and good feeling were the safest guideline in such cases. But, in regard to social customs with which in this country's religion was so closely intertwined, he failed to see, how, if thin clause were literally enforced, there could be any scope for the objects of the Association. To improve the natives of India, without tacitly interfering with their social customs, was a sheer impossibility, and that for the single reason that, social customs, which confessedly stood in the way of progress, were just the things in which improvement was aimed at. The principle of Government "neutrality" referred to in the clause had existed, rather in name than in reality. But as argument and moral evasion were the only means available to this Association, it was very evident that there was nothing to fear on the ground of undue interference ; anything like coercion it was alike beyond their power and their will to use, and argument and moral evasion they had a perfect right to use. He therefore thought it a pity that the clause had been introduced at all for to say the least, it was confusing, whilst it seemed also to impugn the good sense and good feeling of the members of the Association. It was only too true, however had or however to be accounted for, that a social chasm did intervene between the European and the Native in this country. At the same time, those who observed the signs of the times, and who were able to compare the past with the present, must have been struck with the fact, that the gulf referred to, even if it had not been quite bridged over, was very much narrower than it used to be. And it was also the fact that, under educational and other influences, it was, happily, daily becoming narrower. That the educated classes of England had the very best of feeling towards the Natives of the country, he thought that no one who knew anything of these classses in England could possibly deny. Doubtless, there were exceptions there. just as there are here ; but it would be manifestly unfair and unjust to estimate the normal state of education and enlightenment would excuse his calmly stating his conviction that, so far as the respectable and well meaning clause of European society in this country were concerned, the feeling of .... .

24.6.1876

PHILANTHROPIC PRIZE DISTRIBUTION

It would amuse our readers perhaps to know how the good folk of this ancient historical town contrived to make merry on a very

sorry day this week, an occasion for recreating, for which they have to thank the Philanthropic Society. If we ever had cause to believe that the Philanthropic Society here was actually disposed to be philanthropic, we certainly had reasons true as Holy Writ on Tuesday last ; for none but a truly philanthropic society could have made to pass such a wet, murky, gloomy day as Tuesday so merrily and so pleassantly. Under the presidentship of our Commissioner, the Society met to distribute prizes to the girls connected with its schools ; the little girls in their frocks and *sharies* looking prim and spruce, and the older ones in their unwieldy drapery and their massive jewellery, looking uncomfortable and rather cobbled out for show. Without being versed in the aesthetics of dress, we could not but feel that there was an awkwardness about them that created discomfort in the beholder and we soon became conscious that the more they tried to appear composed the more they discomposed themselves, an almost invariable result when Native ladies appear in English dress. We came across a specimen of this jackdaw disguise at the distribution. The charming columbine looked quite pretty in her buff dress and her snow-white mantilla—only she had an exuberance of artificial flowers of all sorts and tints and dyes on her head with Price & Gosnell's favourite composition smeared over her face. She seemed to have imitated the English dress to a miracle, but she wanted—what all Natives must want—the studied simplicity and attractive negligence which mark the dress of English females. Now for the proceedings of the meeting. First of all rose the Secretary to make short work of us .... speech ; an infliction we should have taken very ill, had not he contrived to make breaks, halts, and pauses almost after every other sentence—but whether in mercy to his audience or because of impeded articulation, we really cannot say—though, as Secretary to the Philanthrophic Society, he ought to have had the best intentions. We did not know till yesterday that moustachios could be made so serviceable. If all the words that were in the Report has been transmitted to us, we should assuredly have gone raving mad. But the Secretary's immense pair of hirsute appendages coming to our relief, brushed of the heads of some, the tails of others, and thus decimated the ponderous sentences so that all in all we received only part of the charge in our ears. Were mustachios ever so serviceable! So what with the pauses and the moustachios and the peculiarities of pronunciation; or at least to reconcile ourself to our fate, we were beginning to make ourselves comfortable, when we were informed that speeches were about to be made. Now, as speeches from Natives are very amusing, we jerked up our heads and perked up our ears, determined not to

lose a syllable. Fancy what we ware served with first. A gentleman got up and spoke, but the—take us, if we understood a word of what he said. We heard a good deal of sound, but caught not a spark of sense ; it was after the style of Edgar Poe's raven—a fine sonorous intonation accompanied by inordinate mystification—*vox et praete rea nihil.* We saw his gestures but failed to discover the language he was good enough to patronise. We contrived to persuade our fancy, however, that he was doing something, perhaps performing some Native rite. We were disheartened a bit, but hoped something would turn up by and bye. In this hope we had not indulge long before up rose another Baboo. We had the pleasure of understanding him but it was a painful pleasure. What frightful controtions he made, how his jugular muscles twitched and convulsed to deliver the proprietor of some of the English he had crammed over night. We were ready to cry out with Richard "An emetic, an emetic, my kingdom for an emetic"! Why does not Holloway manufacture an emetic for articulation. It would be a specific in a case like this where a leech is required to extract the speech from the throat of the speaker. A little while and then another Native was on his legs. Well ; he offered and address and it must have been a good one, at least. we will impose so, because the Commissioner complimented him. But he was throwing his back and his lower limbs parlicularly into such attitudes and postures, that we verily believe he was suffering from indigestion, supervening on a course of hydropathy. So much for the Natives. The Europeans who addressed the meeting spoke as most Europeans do. But there was a certain amount of humour and grotesqueness about the thing that we could not have resisted for our life. We sat and listened to each speaker in turn and poor Goldsmith's words kept surging up in our mind :—

"The wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew."

18.5 1878

DEFUNCT ASSOCIATION

With a desire to be moderate, though well appointing the state of excited feeling prevalent, our contemporary of the *Hindo Patriot* thus speaks of the European and Anglo-Indian Defences Association:—This Association threatens to act as a sort of vigilance Committee, as regards Mr. Ilberts Bill. But the present excitement will pass away in time, and then, if the association will work in right earnest the country, we feel permuted, will gain. There are many questions in which the interests of European settles and the

natives of India are identical, and the agitation of those questions through this European organization cannot but conduce to the good of both Europeans and Natives. In a fit of frenzy, the Europeans have for the moment separated from the children of the soil, but when person will return in them, they will, we feel convinced, perceive that they cannot carry on their business, or further their interests by placing themselves in perpetual antagonism with the people of the country. Equal law and equal justice must rule the country ; privilage must give way to the reign of reason, and we have an hesitation in saving that, the start which has already been made in the path of progress cannot be retraced under any circumstances. We therefore, feel confident that, in course of time, the newly-established European and Anglo-Indian Association will prove a powerful ally to the cause of improvement and reform in India. We do not agree with our contemporary that the English community of India can ever again make common cause with Natives. There is no need for amalgamating forces. Our Association will do all we need, and bring before in hear upon the deliberations of ... felt before, simply, because we Europeans recovered to gauge our own strength.

7 4.1883

ANTI FILLAL SOCIETY

We hear that an anti-paternal-anti guardians society has been formed in Dacca by some students of the Jaggannath School[৫৮], headed and instigated, it is believed by Brahmos. It seems that parents and guardians had occasion to rebuke certain of their sons and words in account of the insane black ribbon movement and this fired the young ambition for social as well as political freedom. Disdaining paternal counsel and control, these young patriots have resolved, first, that *mater familias* is a mere family appendage—for suckling fools, possible— a mere pensioner on domestic bounty, and as every thing in nature has a use, she may perhaps pole as a household chattel, with potentialities for being utilized but everything more. *Pater families* They regard as a decent sort of provision made by nature for families to when the paternity of babulings may be imparted, and who may in the irresponsible years of adolescence of their putative sons—from one up to ten—act the amible role of relieving offer, but whose functions at and after that mature period cease absolutely in regard to anything like authority over these aspiring patriots of their meagre. Sisters are voted freaks of nature sent into the world for adding collaterally to a family of eventually gravitating to the level of domestic dredges in

the character of widows. Our juvenile society has signified that, it has a mission beyond that of the said respectable Baboo who generally content to draw nutrition, propagate and rot. It has for one object—among other grand aims—the emancipation of India from her present thralldom which in galling to the pride and humiliating to the ambition of the lofty-minded patriots. It is hoped in time to expel the haughty independent Britisher from Indian coral stand, retaining an proof of his once residence the proverbial leap of beer-bottles, in addition to which, may have, an imported Newzealander will be relegated to the Hoogly Bridge. But these things are one in the future and must not be anticipated.

4.8.1883

CHATRO SOMAJ

We call the serious attention of our civil and educational authorities, to what is being done in Dacca under false and harmless professions of progress. A branch associations, connected with the Brahmo samaj[৫৯] holding its meetings in the Brahmo samaj building, weekly, has been organised with a professed object of influencing abolition caste and emancipating females from their present degraded condition. This is all a pretext. Its true object is to consolidate a body into a political faction, and its first object is to destroy caste, so as to admit more freedom of action among its members. Eventually these hope to make head against "over common enemy"—English and "to emancipate our beloved country from the tharldom of a foreign yoke." in other wordes to "Drive our English taskmasters out of India." We hear Baboo Rojonikanta Ghose, Secretary, Brahmo Samaj, and a teacher in our local collegiate school, is a very active member. Is not a Government servant prohibited from taking part in any political movement?

7.5.1890

CORRESPONDENCE

[*We are not responsible for any opinions expressed by our correspondents, nor do we, by inserting, endorse them. Authentication is necessary, as a proof of good faith Ed. B. T.*]

PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—Mr. Roy, in his Annual Report of the People Association, takes great credit to himself and not unfairly, for his "exertions and self-

sacrifice," which nobody can deny, but when he assumes that the Peoples' Association concentrated all the reasoning talent of Dacca into one focus, and brought it to bear on the Partition question, he is sadly out of his reckoning, as he is, in saying that the Association was looked upon as the mouthpiece of the entire population of Dacca. Nor yet is it correct to say that, this body of intelligent and earnest men "succeeded in making the agitation one of the most successful that has ever taken place in this country." Mr. Roy should remember that there were persons, not associates, who, by voice and pen, did a great deal, Quite independent of the Association, in for the agitation, *if any.* I have not seen any sign of it yet. I think you wrote some most excellent articles in your famous journal, and delivered some most cutting and convincing speeches. I know there was loud talk of the Zemindars of East Bengal signifying their appreciation of your labours by presenting you with a handsome testimonial, which, to the shame and reproach of everybody concerned, was never done. However mean such conduct might have been, it was men like yourself, your correspondents and others, who helped greatly, and I am of opinion, should share in the kudos, since I have reason to know that, at least in one instance, a citizen of Dacca who took a great interest and lost ... have never so much as been acknowledged. If the Peoples Association is as representative as Mr. Roy states, or believes, why should it shirk an obvious duty.

24th Augt., 1904

Yours faithfully,
STURDY PATRIOT

31.08 1904

থিয়েটার

[উনিশ শতকে বাংলা থিয়েটার বলতে আমরা কলকাতা শহরে সীমাবদ্ধ কর্মকাণ্ডকেই বুঝি। এটা ঠিক যে, থিয়েটার শুরু হয়েছিলো কলকাতাতে, বিকশিতও হয়েছিলো সেখানে। কিন্তু উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগে থিয়েটার আর শুধু সীমাবদ্ধ থাকেনি কলকাতাতেই, ছড়িয়ে পড়েছিলো কলকাতার বাইরে, পূর্ববঙ্গে বা বাংলাদেশেও। তথ্যের স্বল্পতাহেতু সেসব আমরা জানি না। তাই 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'–এ প্রাপ্ত থিয়েটার সংক্রান্ত সংবাদগুলি আলাদা শিরোনামের অধীনে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হলো।

পূর্ববঙ্গ বা বাংলাদেশে থিয়েটারের যাত্রা কবে থেকে শুরু তা সঠিকভাবে বলা যায় না। বিভিন্ন তথ্যের সাহায্যে অনুমান করে নিতে পারি উনিশ শতকে ষাটের দশকে শুরু হয়েছিলো এর যাত্রা, বাংলাদেশের থিয়েটারের মোটামুটি চারটি ধারা লক্ষ্যণীয় —

১. ইংরেজদের থিয়েটার

২. সৌখিন নাট্যগোষ্ঠীর থিয়েটার

৩. গ্রুপ থিয়েটার এবং

৪. পেশাদারী থিয়েটার।

বর্তমান গ্রন্থে সংকলিত সংবাদসমূহের সময়কাল ১৮৭৬-১৯০০। এ সময়টি ছিল গ্রুপ থিয়েটার এবং পেশাদারী থিয়েটারের স্বর্ণযুগ। গ্রুপ থিয়েটারের ধারাটি ছিল বেশ শক্তিশালী বিশেষ করে ঢাকায়।

গ্রুপ থিয়েটার আংশিক পেশাদারী, পুরোপুরি নয় এ কারণে যে থিয়েটারই দলের সদস্যদের জীবিকার্জনের একমাত্র মাধ্যম নয়। অন্য পেশায় তারা নিয়োজিত, অবসর সময়টুকু তারা ব্যয় করে থিয়েটারের জন্যে। কোন বিশেষ আদর্শ বা তার প্রচার বা সুস্থ বিনোদনের সমভাবাপন্ন ব্যক্তিদের নিয়ে গঠিত হয় গ্রুপ থিয়েটার। সৌখিনদের সঙ্গে তাদের তফাৎ এ কারণে যে, তারা নিয়মিত নাটক মঞ্চস্থ করার চেষ্টা করে দর্শনীর বিনিময়ে। টিকেট দিয়ে (প্রায় ক্ষেত্রে) যা আয় হয় তা দিয়েই গ্রুপ থিয়েটারের ব্যয়েব অধিকাংশ নির্বাহ হয়।

বাংলাদেশে গ্রুপ থিয়েটারের উদ্ভব ঢাকায় এবং পূর্ববঙ্গ রঙ্গভূমিকে কেন্দ্র করে বিকশিত হয়েছিলো এগুলো। তারা চেয়েছিলো সুস্থ বিনোদনের মাধ্যম গড়ে তুলতে। এখানে উল্লেখ্য যে, সম্পূর্ণ পেশাদারী থিয়েটারের পূর্বসুরী ছিল এই গ্রুপ থিয়েটার। ঢাকার গ্রুপ থিয়েটারগুলির মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য ছিল 'প্রাইড অব বেঙ্গল থিয়েটার' (১৮৭১), 'নবাবপুর এমেটিয়ার থিয়েটার কোম্পানী', 'ইলিশিয়াম থিয়েটার' (১৮৮৪), 'সনাতন নাট্য সমাজ' (১৮৮৯) প্রভৃতি।

গ্রুপ থিয়েটারের তুলনায় পেশাদারী থিয়েটার হয়ে উঠেছিলো জোরদার। বাংলাদেশে পেশাদারী থিয়েটারের উদ্ভবও ঢাকায়। খুব সম্ভব ষাটের দশকে পূর্ববঙ্গ রঙ্গভূমি যারা গড়ে তুলেছিলেন তারা একই সঙ্গে 'পূর্ববঙ্গ নাট্যসমাজ' নামে একটি দলও গড়ে তুলেছিলেন। ১৮৭২ সালের মার্চ মাসে 'রামাভিষেক' মঞ্চায়নের মাধ্যমে এর যাত্রা শুরু। তবে, এ পেশাদারী ধারা টিকিয়ে রাখা যায় নি। সত্তর দশকের মাঝামাঝিই তা বিলুপ্ত হয়ে গিয়েছিলো। ১৮৭০ থেকে ১৮৯০ পর্যন্ত পেশাদারী থিয়েটার সম্পর্কে আর তেমন তথ্য পাওয়া যায় না। ১৮৯০-এর পর এ সম্পর্কে কিছু তথ্য পাওয়া যায়। তার ভিত্তিতে বলা যায় নব্বই দশকে ঢাকায় সম্পূর্ণ ব্যসায়িক ভিত্তিতে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো দু'টি পেশাদারী রঙ্গমঞ্চ। একটি 'ক্রাউন' অপরটি 'ডায়মণ্ড জুবিলি'। এ শতকের প্রায় ত্রিশ দশক পর্যন্ত পেশাদারী থিয়েটার টিকেছিলো।[১]]

তথ্যপঞ্জি

১. বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের থিয়েটার*, ঢাকা, ১৯৮৫।

সংকলন

PARSEE THEATRICALS

The principal actor having fallen sick, there was no performance on Wednesday and Thursday nights. Last night (Friday), however, the Parsees again made their appearance in the drama of Shakontala or the Lost Ring. Which was greatly applauded by the audience. The comical song of the Little Fisherman was sung with great spirit and all the operatic parts were well appreciated by those who were acquainted with the Urdu language. Tonights performance is with a tale from the Arabian Nights Entertainments. which has been translated into Urdu. This company has given general satisfaction, and it is to be regretted that they should make their last public appearance to night on the Dacca stage, though they will perform privately at the mansion of Nawab Kajeh Abdool Gunny. C.S.I during next week.[৬০]

18.3.1876

PARSEE THEATRICALS

Last saturday night the Parsees gave their last and best performance at the E.B.R. theatre. Budduruddin and 'Abool Hassan' was on the programme, but it was a mixture of two tales from the Arabian Nights Entertainment, Viz, the 'Sleeper Awakened' and 'Noureddin Ali' and 'Boddruddin Hassan'. The House was crowded with Natives and a few Europeans were also present. The effect of this company were not in vain, and the applause they received on saturday, was almost defeaning. Many of our readers who are familiar with the tales in the Arabian Night Entertainment know how interesting and amusing they are, especially the 'Sleeper Awakened' which was acted to perfection, each actor acquitting himself to the satisfaction of the audience. The farce in which a robber chief instructs one of his gang the art of stealing, and finally ends in the thief stealing in his chiefs house, met with great success. And the public are now looking forward to two other performances from the company, on tuesday and wednessday night.

22.3.1876

THE NATIONAL THEATRE[৬১]

(Contributed)

The strongest Company that has visited this city for a long time past, made its first appearance on the Eartern Bengal Theatre stage last Saturday night, with a decided success. By way of encouragement, the house was crowded almost to suffocation, and thunders of applause every now and again arose from amongst the ranks bespeaking the general appreciation of the audience. The Opera, "Chaste or Unchaste," was certainly in very good keeping, the music chaste and select, and the entire play sustained with spirit and effect by each actor and actress in the various parts allotted to them. It was a piece adopted from the Bengali *Shastra*, concluding with the amusing and instructive farce "*Chaku Dhan*" or the "Redeemed Husband." We may summarise the plot briefly. The husband of Boshumutty, a dissipated young man, invariably kept late hours, to the great vexation and distress of his sorrowing and anxious wife. Human nature is human nature every where, and there is a limit to everything—even to a wife's forbearance. She resolved to suffer no longer, and devised a bold plan to reclaim her husband from his dissolute ways. On his return from the small hours, what was his surprise and rage to see a man seated alongside his wife, conversing with her in the most affectionate terms and to all appearance her lover. Unable to control himself at such a night, he rushes upon his intended victim (the would-be lover) to take summary vengeance on him, when lo! and behold, to his surprise and confusion, he discovers the supposed man to be a female servant of his household who has hurriedly resumed her female attire. He turns to his wife for explantion, expressing the state of his feelings when he first saw the supposed man. "What do you think I have to bear up with?" asked she, "when night after night you are away—leaving me to bewail your absence?". Such a plan has it's effect. Convinced of his neglect of his wife, the husband becomes a reformed man from that moment and it is hoped never afterwards save her occasion to complain of him. Monday night's piece was also taken from the Heathen Mythology. A Princess with her maids-in-waiting is seen out for a walk when she suddenly comes upon a hermit of the forest, son of an exile King. Their eyes meet and love is instantaneous and mutual. On her return home, the Princess pines for her hermit lover of the forest and the fact is brought to the notice of the King, her father. He would consent to the match, only that one of the gods has warned him that the intended bridegroom will die that day twelve month. Radhika grows desperate and her father eventually gives his

consent and the marriage is solemnised. The day for the bridegroom to die has, however, now arrived without any sign of evil or accident. It has almost drawn to a close. He is cutting wood in the forest, but while in the act of doing so from the top of a tree, he is seized with a sudden dizziness, dismounts, rushes to Radhika and in a few moments expires in her arms. No one can approach her and remove the corpse on account of her chastity. The god of death at length comes and she entreats him very pitifully to restore her husband, but the law of the god, like that of the Medes and Persians, is unalterable. She then follows him far and wide into dense forests, till overcome by her entreaties, he is compelled to accede to her three wishes and is unconsciously committed to an indiscretion in granting the third, which is that she should have one hundred sons by her husband Krista. When the time comes for him to fulfil his promise, he finds out his mistake, but cannot sufficiently admire the nobleness of her purpose, her courage, endurance and perseverance, and he restores her heir to life, and Radhika rises up as it were from a deep sleep quite unconscious of the remarkable changes her husband has undergone from life to death and *vice vera.* The plot was characteristically sustained throughout and there is no doubt that the National Threatre Company can act, and act well. There was a small farce after this, illustrating very forcibly the danger of having two wives and trying to please both. Last night, the drama and tragedy of the great Battle of Plassey was represented by the Company with a fair amount of success. Suraj-a-dowla, the hero of the play, acquitted himself admirably. As an actor he has quite a reputation among his troupe, and his last night's fully entered into the spirit of the play and rose to the occasion well. Suraj-a-Dowlah's lament over Mir Jaffar's treachery, the loss of his territories and crown, his subsequent loss of both himself and his wife, his execution and her voluntary resignation of life for him on the sword, were most tragically and pathetically depicted recalling to many a mind the graphic record of Clive's great victory. A very entertaining piece is announced for to-night.

13.8.1879

PROTEST AGAINST THEATRICALS

(contributed)

On Thursday evening last, a monster meeting was held in the Bengal Theatre at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, to protest against the coming to Dacca of another Theatrical Company. It was convened by the Students' Association and its *rationale* was, that, as wides-

pread distress is felt in Dacca, owing to the inundation, every spare pice the students and the public can part with should be given to the starving ryots and not to theatrical companies, which, the general feeling of the meeting pronounced to be either useless, or exceedingly pernicious. Mr. Pope, Principal of the College, was in the chair. Many of the leading Native gentlemen who take an interest in the welfare of the city, were present. The rest were students and pupils of the schools. There must have been a thousand individuals present, probably, more ; and the meeting was hold in the Bengal Theatre to protest against theatres—significant, to say the least. Though this assemblage was convened chiefly to protest against the evil of a theartical company coming to Dacca in a time of distress, yet theatres in general came in for a tremendous castgation. All the speeches, without one exception, were unusually good, and carried the immense body of auditors along with them. The immorality, the obscenity, the vulgarity, and the impure character of the plays generally exhibited in Indian theatres were terribly denounced, and to pamper such loathsome systems while ryots were starving, was held up to pity and execration as a sin of the greatest enormity. Certainly, the theatrical companies visited Dacca have not earned a reputation for decorum and propriety. And if the sections of the penal code denouncing obscenity are not to be allowed to be a dead letter, the magistrates ought to take cognisance of such performances. By turning to an old number of the *Bengal Times*, we find in its issue of the 4th June, 1873, the following *trenchant* letter from a correspondent. "I read a short time ago, with very much satisfaction, the severe strictures you passed on the Native Theatrical Company, which is now doing so much to set class against class, and to poison the purity of the young in the city. I would like to see you pitch into them again and again, until they either leave the place, or depart from the vile obscenity and the mischief making spirit that characterise their plays. If the actors confined their obscenity to themselves and their supporters, it would be bad enough for the young men who frequent their exhibitions, but what is to be said of them, when their influence for evil may be felt by the children of Europeans who have no wish to see their immoral plays. Lately, the circulating of hand-bills among the homes of the European residents rendered such scenes as the following possible. A group of European children are playing under the portico, when a peon brings round the advertisement. The children eagerly seize and read one. It contains a list of the *dramatis persons.* In reference to some of the characters, there are, in a very conspicuous place, "his mother, his sister, his wife his mistress,"

and a little further down, "a procuress," A little girl nine years old cries out "What is a procures?". A young European. sixteen years old, replies "Surely that word cannot be there." On looking at the handbill, he sees that it is there, and on being further questioned, declines to say what it means. On this, the party of juveniles, to the number of twelve, and ranging in age from six to fourteen, rush upstairs and besiege the lady of the house with the question "Mamma, what is a procuress?" "Mamma, what is a mistress?" "James A — says he won't tell us, and you must." Comment on the danger of such things is needless. The Bengali theatrical Company, for making such deplorable consequence possible, is liable to be punished, according to the Penal Code, which has one or two sections regarding obscenity. But if the very hand-bills of the company are hostile to morality, what is to be said of those who pay money, to behold the actions, and to bear the words of "a mistress and of a procuress?" Surely, surely, we have enough of enemies to purity and morality already, without having their ranks strengthened by the powerful aid of an obscene theatre. The consequences of all this must be deplorable in the extreme. One consequence will be that all European gentleman, and still more, all European ladies will keep aloof from even educated Natives will be put a stop to Again, there are, in Dacca a number of Europeans who stand up for the Natives, and speak well of them, against a larger number who decry them. The former will have the chagrin of seeing the Bengali Theater a powerful argument against their well-meant endeavours, "Ah!" the detractors of the Natives will say— "we are right ; look at the Natives. They will not educate their poor wretched woman, but they will liberally suport filthy theatricals. Now, your friends of the Natives come and dun us for subscriptions for female Native Schools and the like. We will not pay a single pice for such things, because we will not help to educate the women of those who help to encourage the acting of "*a mistress*" and of a "*a procuress,*" Government also may be on the alert to save expenditure by cutting down the pay of those of its servants who encourage exhibitions where the acts of a mistress and of a procuress are represented. It stands to reason that Government servants have more than enough who spend money for such purposes. I was very glad, Mr. Editor, to see from your remarks that the Bengali Theatre. Many of them, I know from good authority, though not Christians, allow the Bible to influence their lives in many ways. When the crashing thunder wakes them at night, and the lightning makes darkness visible, they think of that awful passage in Revelation :—"And the wicked said to the mountains and the rocks— 'Fall on us and hide us from the face of

him that sitteth on the throne, and from the face of the Lamb. For the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" And that equally appalling description of the last judgment in Matthew, closing with the verse :—"And the wicked shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." It is well they should remember there is another verse in the Bible which declares that "The cowardly, and the unbelieving, and the aboninable, and murderers and whore-mongers, and idolaters, and all liars shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death" God is indeed merciful, and the blood of Jesus Christ truly cleaneeth us from all sin, but those who persist in taking delight in impurity are those who reject God's mercy, and who shall, according to his most solemn declaration, for ever "dwell with the devouring fire—with everlasting burnings." Cowper is a poet that educated Natives can justly admire, and honestly esteem. But Cowper shall judge them at the last, if they countenance impurity, for some of the finest and most popular lines that Cowper ever wrote were the following : —

"The joy that vain amusements give,
Oh, sad conclusion that it brings!
The honey of a crowded hive
Defended by a thousand stings.
God knows the thousand who go down
From pleasure into endless woe ;
And with a long despairing great,
Blaspheme their maker as they go,
O fearful thought! be timely wise ;
Delight but in a Saviour's charms,
And God shall take you to the skies,
Embraced in everlasting arms."

The Proverbs of Solomon are much admired by educated natives both form their intrinsic merit, and the fact that their author was an Asiatic. But Solomon describes wisdom as uttering the following words. "How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity and the scorners delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge? Turn you at my reproof ; behold, I will pour out my spirit unto you. I will make known my words unto you. Because I have called, ye refused ; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded! But ye have set at naught all my counsel, and would none of my reproof. I also will laugh at your calamity ; I will mock

when distress and anguish cometh upon you. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer ; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me ; because they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord. They would none of my counsel ; they despised all my reproof. Therefore, shall they eat the fruit of their own ways, and be filled with their own devices." In conclusion, let those who are inclined to be angry at such remarks remember the proverb. "Rebuke a wise man and he will love you, rebuke a fool and he will hate you." Thus wrote a correspondent in 1873. And what he did six years ago, a thousand people did on Thursday last. Mr. Living stone's speech consisted in praising the students for their noble efforts to help the starving ryots, who were the back-bone of India. Some of the finest speches ever heard in the Bengal Theatre were delivered on this occasion. The chairman at length closed the meeting with an admirable speech. His task was not an easy one, because the current of opinion in the vast assembly was dashing against the gross obscenity of theatres like a mill-race. But he managed to guide it with rare tact. He said that it might be going too far to condemn the drama entirely, for it was the outcome of national literature. But common theatres that were nothing but commercial speculations, were different things. If they decended to gross vulgarity and low obscenity, it was our duty to discountenance them. And that we could best do by keeping away from them. He dwelt powerfully on the pernicious nature of obscenity in theatres, especially, that insidious kind concealed under a *doub'e entendre.* He spoke strongly in favour of liberality to the starving ryots, and praised the students for their generous efforts in this direction. He deprecated asceticism, declaring that we could be both just and generous without despising the good things that God has created for our comfort. He deprecated the exhibition of force or persecution in the effort to prevent a new theatre company comming to Dacca, declaring that the best way of disconutenancing theatres was by staying away from them. He sat down amidst great applause. The meeting lasted from five till a few minutes past eight, and was most enthusiastic throughout.[৮১]

13.6.1879

NAWABPORE THEATRE

Last Saturday, there was a good performance of the tragedy of Shakoontola by the local theatre company. The scenery is costly. The performance was well sustained throughout. In addition to the made assembly, over one hundred unveiled ladies attended, chiefly wives of native officials—who are never seen in public. We are told

that the performance lasted from 8 P. M. to 1 A. M. It is expected that a better company from Islampore, Tatee will appear.[৮৩]

17.7.1881

PRIVATE THEATRICALS

We beg to remind our readers the programme for this evenings performance at the theatre Royal. In inviting to a degree never before attained. From close inspection and enquiry., we have ascertained that, the fittings and property of this theatre, as now existing, must have cost so trifling out lay, which, possibly, will never be recouped to the generous donors, nor is there any desire in their part that it should be. In devoting ones spare time, to cater for the amusement and enlivenment of the station the least return that should be expected is a good full house and an appreciative audiences ; and when to spare time we add talent, labour and money, the duty of the public becomes ovbiously suggestive. In Dacca, a most enjoyable evening can be passed for about one-third of the expense incurred in calcutta, and when we take all the kindly feeling and considerable fore thought that have been busy for months into consideration, we cannot suppose that the very trifling amount required for a ticket of admission will be grudged by anyone, indeed it would be ungenerous to impute such meanness to the open-handed public of this station, always, so ready with heart and purse to assist laudable efforts in any direction. We are exceedingly glad that we are able to single out for special mention among the landed gentry—Baboo Mohiney Mohun Dass, for his public spirit in promoting this kind of intellectual recreation, by placing his theatre at the disposal of our ameteures

5.1.1884

ADVERTISEMENTS

PROFESSOR CAMPBELL

of the United States, America

ILLUSIONIST, MESMERIST

Will appear

In his beautiful temple of Macau at the Railway Institute, Dacca, on Wednesday, the 16th instant and throughout the week following, nightly, at the Jugger Nath School Theatre Hall.

For particulars see placards, Programmes may be had at the Theatre Hall.

CHANGE OF PROGRAMME NIGHTLY

PRICES OF ADMISSION

Reserved Seat Rs. 3 Front Rs 2 Back Rs 1	To admit 3 Rs. 7 " " " 5

68—85

PRINCE ALFRED THEATRE COMPANY

HISTORICAL AND DRAMATIC

This company consists of nineteen members of experience and talent, among whom may be mentioned Kadir Bux, Mir Doola and Lalee, well-known favourites.

Open to private engagements at forty Rupees per night.

For particulars apply to
Mahomed Ramzan,
Auga Saduck Bazar,
DACCA

9.1.1886

AMATEUR THEATRICALS

On saturday next, 16th instant, our Dacca Race Festivities will conclude with an amateur theatrical performence at the Railway Institute. Two pieces are selected as suitable to existing conditions, one that attractive comedietta, *Cut off with a Shilling* and that popular farce *Fountain in a Four Wheeler.*

9.1.1886.

THEATRICALS

Sir, Nawabpore is a grand arena of histrionic display and aesthetic performance in Dacca, while in music, its excellence is unrivalled. More than a dozen years ago, when theatrical performance had not attained that degree of perfection which it now boasts, and when its spread was not so universal as at present, it placed on the stage two or three pieces of country Jatras composed by Krishna Komal Goswame.[৬8] Since, then, fashion has undergone a radical change. *Jatras* have vanished, yielding to operas. Same five or six years back, the Nawabpore company performed a beautiful piece called Sakuntala. This year that company has produced a piece entitled Utter Ram Charita, describing the later years of Ramas life after his return from exile ... comilcalities have been so ungenerously interposed between sublime and pathetic—not to relieve as excess of humour of such tragic incidents as occur in some tragedies of Shakespeare, that they have marred its entire plot ... I may, however, mention that throughout this piece its scenery is exquisitely beautiful.

Dacca, 11th April
1887

Yours Faithfull
V. C

11.04.1887

ELYSIAN THEATRE

Sir—As a friend of mine was passing through a public street in Dacca, a notice by one Bysack Babu, was handed to him signed in a printed form It states that, a performance of that vile, lying tragedy, *Nildarpan* is to be held on saturday and all proceeds thus obtained, will be devoted to 'the benefit of famine stricken-people in the district.' This performance is to be held in Nawabpore Theatre house by Nawabpore Bysack Baboos, principally, who, though they may give occassional small donations to the poor, never do so without some special purpose and thus disguise their secret intentions. I am informed and I believed that, this is a mere snare to entrap a large attendance, and there by to earn money by false pretences professing to be for the benefit of all. It would be better to stop such work, on such shallow pretexts during our present scarcity of rice, and until local examinations connected with the Calcutta University have concluded. Performance of such a tragedy as *Nildarpan* as simply to insult white people by a dodge, that is, by professing to expose Indigo factors, and is a nasty,

objectionable piece, taken on the whole. Taty Bazar Babus should feel ashamed to play such dirty tricks.

Dacca
8th December 1889

yours faithfully
A gentleman

[What can you expect from a certain, unintelligent animal but a grunt? There should be a criminal prosecution ED. B. T.][৬৫]

11.12.1889

THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE

Mr. J. Lazarus. a jute merchant and to his friends on Monday and Tuesday, 26th and 27th ult. He engaged the services of the Bengal Crown theatre. They acted two pieces "Layla and Mujnoo" and a farce styled "Raja Bahadoor" on Monday night, and on Tuesday, they performed 'Mirabai' followed by the same farce. Their acting was fairly good, and the scenery all that could be desired. This entertainment was held in "Gole Badan" a house in Paniotys Lane, which belonged to Mr. J. C. Paniaty of this city, but which has recently been sold by order of the executors, to Mr. A. N. Stephan, Jute merchant.

8.12.1894

A RELIGIOUS DISPUTE

Sir, Great exitement prevails among orthodox Hindoos in Palang and adjacent villages in the district of Faridpur, on account of same very high-handed proceeding by the Headmaster of a school here. A party of school boys, with the permission of their parents and guardians, visited a *jatra* performance, the subject of which was taken from the *Mohabharata* and was of a religions tendency. For this act the boys were punished. and one was expelled from school, pending the sanction of Inspector of schools, East Bengal. It is whispered that this arbitrary course of conduct was in consequence of a hunt from the Barisal Congressman.

Palang,
27 Dec. 1897

Yours faithfully
An on-looker

2.1.1897

DACCA THEATRES

Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—There are two theatrical parties in this town, one styling itself "Diamond Jubilee" and another "Crown" and both appear to me ruinous to students of our Local Colleges and schools. Both these theatres are composed of male and female performers. Yesterday, night one played in Asak Jamader's Lane and there were more than one hundred boys present, also students, who kept howling till three O'clock A. M. Scarcely any one could have slept all that time. Thus peaceable people dweling in this lane are often troubled by theatrical parties. Our Commissioner requested Head Masters of schools to guard their boys against such evils, but it seems without effect. When our present "Joint" was officiating as Magistrate of Dacca, upon a representation submitted to him he ordered that performances should be closed before one O'clock A. M. But playing continues till two or three A. M. at "Diamond Jubilee Theatre" which is owned by Babu Kisari Mahan Ray of Baliaity. Some students are spending every pie they possess on these theatres.

Yours faithfully,
MORALITY

[There is no doubt that a firm clock should be interposed and these theatrical vampires driven out of Dacca, Ed. B. T.][৬৬]

17.2.1900

DACCA THEATRE

Sir—We some resident of Dacca town, have the honor to bring to your notice the mischief that is being done by the theatrical party styling itself Diamond Jubilee Theatre. This theatre has been causing much inconvenience to people in Dacca, especially to residents of Asak Jamadars lane. Its performances continue up to two or three o'clock. A. M, almost verry alternate day, besides which, actors and actresses attend in broad daylight as well as night during interval days for rehersal purposes. Some in disgraceful rows, by which they cause a great deal of annoyance and disturbance to public tranquility and *health*. These facts were brought to the kind notice of our local authorities here, who were kind enough to take our grievances, and after making an enquiry, an order was passed directing the manager of the theatre to stop performances before midnight. Not withstanding this order, they perform upto two or three A. M. One case of their neglecting this

order is that they are protected by Zemindar, Baboo Kishori Lall Roy Chaudhury of Baliatty, who has always helped them, and by some of men of position in their own, without looking to the interests of school-boys. It is known to one and all, that these latter are becoming corrupted by their constant attendance at this theatre, and knowing what actresses do generally to draw attention to their performances, it is evident their presence here is baneful. We therefore beg to request that our worthy Magistrate Mr. Rankin our energetic district superintendent. Mr. Tucker, will be so kind as to restore the public peace and adopt some means for boys not frequenting in such company by removal of the theatre to a secluded place from the centre of the town.

5th March 1900 — yours faithfully VICTIMS

14.3.1900

FRIDAY NIGHT'S CONCERT

Although we utterly disagree that amateurs should not be criticised, it is not our purpose to criticise those who so kindly afforded us a pleasant and merry couple of hours concert diversion on Friday evening last, by their varied programme. An overture by the Band, opened proceedings, and though no doubt very excelently selected and well rendered, was a trifle too loud for so small a room. "The Anchor's Weighed" by Mrs. Brown, was beautifully sung in a clear, sweet voice, and received a well-merited *encore*. Mrs Page's "May Time" had a vociferous *encore* to which Mrs. Page kindly responded in her excellent contralto, which she has well under command. The "Old Rustic Bridge" by Miss Belcher, elicited deserved applause and a hearty recall. Mr. and Mrs. D'Santos's violin duet, a selection from "Norma," was excellently rendered, and recalled many bright reminiscences of happier and more youthful days. Mrs. Budd's "Ask Papa" proved one of the gems of the evening, in point of enunciation and comic humour, in which Mrs. Budd appears to be well skilled. Messrs. Clark's and Grant's "What did I do?" and "Beauty's Eyes" received their due need of encouragement in hearty appreciation, and Mr. Jordan's rattling, rollicking old mare took the bit between her teeth and ran amok amongst his hearers, bringing down the house in rounds of applause. "Violin Eccentricities" by Mr. D'Santos took everybody by storm, as a fine exhibition of musical manipulation, and Mr. MacIntyre's "Ventriloquial Sketch" elicited repeated applause. Mr. Lambert's song was also well received. Amongst so

many who, each in her way—*place aux dames*—or his, did all that kindly combined talent could do to please, it would be invidious to select particular individuals for special priase and it would hardly become us so to do. We may say, however, that the fair sex, whose immemorial right it is to charm and to captivate, was conspicuous in a foreground of success to which everybody seemed desirous to contribute, and achieved so happy a result. There was a tolerably well-filled house and an encouraging audience.

20.1.1904

POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—You have already heard at Rai Kali Prasanna Ghosh[৬৭], Bahadur, that kind-hearted popular and able Prime Minister of Raja Rajendra Narain Roy of Bhowal, has been suffering very badly in health for about three months past. There was a time of his illness when his life was despaired of, and the then state of his health caused consternation amongst his numerous friends and relatives. It gives me much pleasure to inform you that he is, by God's grace, in a fair way to recovery now, and he hopes to resume charge of his office within a fortnight or so. His worthy son, Babu Satya Prasanna Ghosh, B. L., who is a very intelligent, energetic and promising pleader of our local bar, is managing the affairs of Bhowal most satisfactorily. You will be glad to hear also that an evening entertainment which the loyal, liberal-minded and enlightened Raja Bahadur of Bhowal gave on Thursday evening to bid farewell to Mr. S. J. Douglas, our popular judge of Dacca, owed its success largely, almost solely to Satya Prosonna Babu's energy and activity. In this connection I beg to send you a short description of that Party. This demonstration took place in the Northbrook Hall, which was artistically decorated with beautiful plants, flowers and foliage, and looked like symbolised fairyland in the effulgence of an elegantly-lighted hall, whilst illuminstions outside vied in splendour. Two songs, suiting the occastion and composed by Rai Kali Prasanna Ghosh Bahadur, our greatest Poet-Philosopher of Bengal, were sung in chorus by some veteran musicians who acquinted themselves very creditably. Several European officials, including the divisional Commissioner, district Magistrate. Joint-Magistrate and other European gentlemen graced the hall with their presence. About two hundred native gentlemen of light and leading mustered strong to pay their respects to the distinguished guest of the evening who shook hands with almost all. Our beloved

Raja Bahadur, who, by virtue of his noble and amiable disposition, commands the sincere and deep respect of every one who fortunately comes in contact with him, accorded a fitting reception to all visitors, Babu Bepin Behary Das, the famous magician of Faridabad, gave a performance, which was much appreciated. Refreshments, both in the Europen and native style were supplied in abundance, and the Party proved a success in every way in its tasteful surroundings and its exhibition of kindly and cordial social harmony.

Bandhab Kutir, Dacca
2nd April, 1900

yours faithfully
SAITENDRA NATH BASU

[We can quite understand that our generous-minded Raja Bahadur would not tolerate even an approach to stint in any entertainment of interest to himself, indeed, he would be disposed rather to be too lavish. Our regret is that we were unable to accept our old friends kind invitation. Like another old friends we have been seriously ill for three months, hence. our inability to face exposure at night. E. B.T.]

4.4.1900

বঙ্গভঙ্গ

[বঙ্গভঙ্গ বাংলার ইতিহাসে এক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ঘটনা। কারণ এর ফলাফল যে এতো সুদূরপ্রসারী হবে তা হয়ত ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারও কল্পনা করেনি। বঙ্গভঙ্গ বাংলার সামাজিক সম্পর্কের ক্ষেত্রেতো বটেই, রাজনীতিতেও এনেছিলো পরিবর্তন। এবং বঙ্গভঙ্গই প্রথম আন্দোলন যার পক্ষে এবং বিপক্ষে জনমত ছিল প্রবলভাবে সোচ্চার। শুধু তাই নয়, এ আন্দোলনে অংশগ্রহণকারী জনসাধারণের সংখ্যা, তুলনামূলকভাবে পূর্ববর্তী বিভিন্ন আন্দোলনসমূহে অংশগ্রহণকারী জনসাধারণের চেয়ে ছিল বেশি।

বঙ্গভঙ্গের কারণ নিয়ে ঐতিহাসিকরা যেসব আলোচনা করেছেন তাতে দু'টি বিষযই প্রধান হয়ে উঠেছে। একদল ঐতিহাসিকের মতে, প্রশাসনিক কারণেই ঔপনিবেশিক সরকার চেষ্টা করেছিলো বাংলা বিভক্ত করতে যে যুক্তি ঐ সময় ব্রিটিশ সিভিলিয়ানরা তুলে ধরার চেষ্টা করেছিলেন বিভিন্নভাবে।[১] যেমন, ম্যাকলেন লিখেছেন, ১৯০৫ পর্যন্ত বঙ্গভঙ্গের পিছে রাজনৈতিক উদ্দেশ্য ছিল প্রচ্ছন্ন।[২] অন্যরা বলছেন, ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল সম্পূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক। বাংলা বিভক্ত করে রাজনৈতিক ফায়দা লাভের উদ্দেশ্যেই ব্রিটিশ সরকার ভাগ করেছিলেন বাংলাকে। যেমন, সুমিত সরকার মনে করেন, ১৯০৩ পর্যন্ত বঙ্গভঙ্গের পিছে সরকারের প্রশাসনিক পরিবর্তন ইচ্ছাই কাজ করেছে। ডিসেম্বর ১৯০৩ থেকে ১৯ জুলাই ১৯০৫ এর মধ্যে "transfer plan was transformed into full scale partition." এ সময়ের রাজনৈতিক অভিলাষ ছিল পূর্ব ও পশ্চিমবঙ্গের সম্পন্ন হিন্দুদের বিভক্ত করা। এবং ১৯০৩ সালের ২৮ মার্চের চিঠিতে ফ্রেজার প্রথমবারের মতো বঙ্গভঙ্গের রাজনৈতিক ফায়দার কথা উল্লেখ করেছিলেন।[৩]

এই যুক্তিটিই বর্তমানে প্রধান্য বিস্তার করে আছে। সুমিত সরকারের আগে, অমলেশ ত্রিপাঠিও মোটামুটি একই সিদ্ধান্তে পৌঁছেছিলেন। লিখেছেন তিনি "এ সিদ্ধান্ত আজ বোধ হয় তর্কাতীত যে, রাজদ্রোহী কংগ্রেসকে ধ্বংস করার কোনও উগ্র বাসনা থেকে বঙ্গভঙ্গ পরিকল্পনার জন্ম হয় নি। উনবিংশ শতাব্দীর শেষের দিকে ইংরেজ আমলাদের প্রচণ্ড বাঙালি বিদ্বেষ, আর বাংলার ভৌগোলিক এবং জনসংখ্যা বৃদ্ধিজাত অতি জরুরী সমস্যা সমাধানের চেষ্টা থেকেই এর উদ্ভব। চরমপন্থা জোরদার হওয়ার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তাতে কংগ্রেস বিরোধী আয়তন যুক্ত হয়।" এবং তারপর তিনি দেখিয়েছেন, কিভাবে ইংরেজ আমলাদের বাঙালি বিদ্বেষ চরম আকার ধারণ করেছিলো। এটি ছিল একধরনের মনস্তাত্ত্বিক পটভূমি। এ ছাড়া প্রশাসনিক দিকতো ছিলই।[৪]

বাদ প্রতিবাদের মধ্যে না গিয়ে আমরা বলতে পারি, একেবারে প্রথমদিকে হয়ত ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল প্রশাসনিক কিন্তু অচিরেই ইংরেজ সিভিলিয়ানরা বঙ্গভঙ্গের রাজনৈতিক সুবিধাগুলি অনুধাবন করেছিলেন কিন্তু তারপর সম্পূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক

দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে বিচার করে সম্পন্ন করেছিলেন বঙ্গভঙ্গ। ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের উচ্চপদস্থ রাজকর্মচারীদের বক্তব্যেই তা প্রমাণিত হয়। বঙ্গভঙ্গের প্রধান স্থপতি রিজলে লিখেছিলেন, ঐক্যবদ্ধ বাংলা একটি শক্তি। বিভক্ত বাংলা যা নয় ... আমাদের প্রধান উদ্দেশ্য একে বিভক্ত করা এবং এভাবে আমাদের শাসনের বিরুদ্ধে ঐক্যবদ্ধ বিরোধীদের দুর্বল করে তোলা।[৫] বাংলার লে. গভর্ণর ফ্রেজার এবং কার্জন মোটামুটি এমতই পরবর্তীতে সমর্থন করেছিলেন।[৬]

বঙ্গ বা বাংলাদেশ বলতে, বঙ্গভঙ্গের আগে বোঝাতো মূল বাংলা বা বেঙ্গল প্রপার, সম্পূর্ণ বিহার, উড়িষ্যা এবং আসাম। ১৮৬৬ সালে উড়িষ্যার দুর্ভিক্ষের পর স্যার স্ট্যাফোর্ড নর্থই বাংলার আয়তন কমাবার পরামর্শ দিয়েছিলেন। ১৮৭৪ সালে আসামকে চীফ কমিশনার শাসিত প্রদেশে রূপান্তরিত করা হয়েছিলো। কিন্তু, এর সঙ্গে জুড়ে দেওয়া হয়েছিলো সিলেটকে। ১৮৯৭ সালে দক্ষিণ লুসাইও স্থানান্তর করা হয়েছিলো আসামে, অবশ্য বলা হয়েছিলো তা করা হচ্ছে সাময়িকভাবে। ১৯০১ সালে, বাংলার সীমানা নিয়ে আবার প্রশ্ন উঠেছিলো। মধ্য প্রদেশের চীফ কমিশনার স্যার এন্ড্রু ফ্রেজার প্রস্তাব করেছিলেন বাংলা ও মধ্যপ্রদেশের সীমানা খানিকটা অদলবদল করলে সম্বলপুরের ঝামেলাটা মিটে যায়। উড়িষ্যার এই ছিটমহলটি ছিল হিন্দি বলয়ে। এ বিষয়ে ফাইলটি লর্ড কার্জনের কাছে পৌঁছেছিলো ১৯০২ সালের ২৪ মে। এই নোট পেয়েই কার্জন আমলাতন্ত্র সম্পর্কে তাঁর বিখ্যাত মন্তব্যটি করেছিলেন।[৭] কিন্তু সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সমস্ত সীমানা বিষয়ক সমস্যাগুলিও সমাধানের প্রস্তাব করেছিলেন। ১৯০৩ সালের বা মার্চের নোটে এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ফ্রেজার বাংলা থেকে চট্টগ্রাম, ঢাকা ও ময়মনসিংহকেও আলাদা করার প্রস্তাব করেছিলেন। কার্জন অনুমোদন করেছিলেন এ প্রস্তাব। সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ১৯০৩ সালের ৩ ডিসেম্বর প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো কার্জনের সেই বিখ্যাত চিঠিটি যেখানে আসামের সঙ্গে ঢাকা, চট্টগ্রাম, ময়মনসিংহকে জুড়ে প্রস্তাব করা হয়েছিলো আলাদা একটি প্রদেশ গঠনে। কার্জন এই খসড়া পরিকল্পনা পূর্ণ বিন্যাস করেছিলেন কিন্তু খসড়ায় ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের রাজনৈতিক সুবিধাগুলি উল্লেখ করা থেকে বিরত ছিলেন। ডিসেম্বরের ১২ তারিখে সরকারি গেজেটে প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো কার্জনের খসড়া প্রস্তাব এবং ১৯০৫ সালের ২ ফেব্রুয়ারি ভাইসরয় কাউন্সিল তা অনুমোদন করেছিলেন। এবং সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ১৯০৫ সালের অক্টোবর তা করা হয়েছিলো কার্যকর। তিনকোটি দশ লক্ষ জনসংখ্যা এবং ১, ৮৬, ৫৪০ বর্গমাইল এলাকা নিয়ে সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছিলো নতুন প্রদেশ—পূর্ববঙ্গ ও আসাম প্রদেশ।[৮]

বঙ্গভঙ্গ কার্যকর হওয়ার পরপরই বিলাতী দ্রব্য বর্জনের আহ্বান জানানো হয়েছিলো কিন্তু ১৯০৩ সালে রিজলের চিঠি প্রকাশিত হওয়ার পর থেকে ১৯০৫ সালে বঙ্গভঙ্গ কার্যকর হওয়া পর্যন্ত বঙ্গভঙ্গের পক্ষেবিপক্ষে বাংলায় জোবালো আন্দোলন হয়েছিলো। প্রথমদিকে, পূর্ববঙ্গে আন্দোলনের ধারা ছিল বঙ্গভঙ্গের বিরুদ্ধে কিন্তু, পরে এখানেও বঙ্গভঙ্গের পক্ষে গড়ে উঠেছিলো জনমত অর্থাৎ বাংলার জনমত হয়ে গিয়েছিলো দ্বিখণ্ডিত।

১৯০৩ সালের ডিসেম্বর থেকে ১৯০৫ সালের অক্টোবরের মধ্যে সারা বাংলায় প্রায় তিন হাজার সভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো এবং এক হিসাব অনুযায়ী এসব সভায় উপস্থিত থাকতেন ৫০০ থেকে ৫০,০০০ শ্রোতা। সরকারী ভাষ্য অনুযায়ী এ ধরনের সভার সংখ্যা ছিল পাঁচশো।[৯]

পূর্ববঙ্গের জনমত বিশ্লেষণ করলে দেখা যায় যেহেতু ঢাকা ছিল পূর্ববঙ্গের প্রধান নগর সেহেতু ঢাকাতেই এ আন্দোলন হয়েছিলো বেশি। অন্যান্য নগরেও প্রতিবাদসভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো। ঢাকা ব্যতীত পূর্ববঙ্গের অন্যান্য অঞ্চলে জনমত গড়ে তুলতে প্রধানতঃ সাহায্য করেছিলেন ঢাকার জনসাধারণ সভার নেতৃবৃন্দ। এ অঞ্চলের জনমত সংগঠনে ঢাকায় গঠিত 'জনসাধারণ সভা' যার নেতা ছিলেন আইনজীবী ও জমিদার আনন্দচন্দ্র রায় বিশেষ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন। 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' এ সংগঠনকে উল্লেখ করেছে 'পিপলস অ্যাসোসিয়েসন' হিসেবে। এ ছাড়া মফস্বলের জমিদার, তালুকদার ও পেশাদার বা মধ্যশ্রেণী এর নেতৃত্ব দিয়েছিলেন। এইসব সভায় সভাপতিত্ব করেছিলেন জমিদার বা তালুকদার, প্রত্যন্ত গ্রামে স্কুল মাস্টার বা ঐ অঞ্চলের কোন প্রভাবশালী শক্তি। প্রতিবাদ সভাগুলিতে সবাই একবাক্যে 'বঙ্গ বিভাগ' প্রস্তাবের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ জানিয়েছিলেন।

পূর্ববঙ্গের এই জন প্রতিক্রিয়া প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে ঢাকা থেকে প্রকাশিত বাংলা পত্রিকা 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' ও ইংরেজি পত্রিকা 'দি বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-এ। 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এ প্রতিফলিত জনপ্রতিক্রিয়া সংকলিত হয়েছে বর্তমান সিরিজের চতুর্থ খণ্ডে। 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ' স্বাভাবিক-ভাবেই ছিল বঙ্গভঙ্গের বিপক্ষে। আশ্চর্য এই যে, 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস'-ও একই অবস্থান নেওয়ার কথা নয়। ১৯০৪ সালের জানুয়ারি মাস থেকে অবিশ্রান্তভাবে 'বেঙ্গল-টাইমস'-এ বঙ্গভঙ্গের বিপক্ষে নিবন্ধ প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। চতুর্থ খণ্ডে উল্লিখিত 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এর যুক্তিগুলির সঙ্গে এর তেমন কোন অমিল নেই। মূল বক্তব্য ছিল —

"Lord Curzons proposed delimination is positively abhorent, and all Bengal, Hindoos and Muhammadans except a few who will curry favour with Government because of a desire for honours and distinctions, will rise in entreaty, to be spared this threatened spoliation of inherited right, which have grown in to vigour and spread under a benignant paternal sway. Nor is agitation artificial." [13.1.1904]

সরকারি পক্ষের যুক্তি উপস্থাপনের জন্য ১৯০৪-এর ফেব্রুয়ারীতে লর্ড কার্জন পূর্ববঙ্গ সফর করেছিলেন। কার্জনের প্রধান যুক্তি ছিল প্রশাসনিক কারণে এ বিভাগ প্রয়োজন। এ ছাড়া, তাঁর মতে, দরিদ্র রায়ত, দোকানদার প্রভৃতি লোকজন এখনো প্রস্তাবটি বুঝতে পারেনি এবং এই সুযোগে শিক্ষিত শ্রেণী তাদেরকে সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে উত্তেজিত করছে। 'ঢাকা প্রকাশ'-এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে লিখেছিলো — "বলিতে ঘৃণা ও লজ্জায় সরমে মরিয়া যাইতে হয়, পূর্ববঙ্গে রাজপ্রতিনিধির বাক্যজাল বিস্তার, সত্যসত্যই এমন হলাহল উদগীরণ করিয়া সভ্যতার শিরে দুরুপনেয় কলঙ্ক অর্জন করিয়াছে।"[১০]

কার্জনের পূর্ববঙ্গ সফরের পর, পূর্ববঙ্গের জনমত স্পষ্টত দ্বিখণ্ডিত হয়ে গিয়েছিলো। কিছু ব্যতিক্রমবাদে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ মুসলমান ও অন্যান্য ধর্মাবলম্বী অধস্তন মানুষ বঙ্গভঙ্গ মেনে নিতে চেয়েছিলেন। অনেকে উল্লেখ করেছেন, নওয়াব সলিমুল্লাহ্‌র নেতৃত্বে মুসলমানরা সাম্প্রদায়িক কারণে বঙ্গভঙ্গের বিরোধিতা করেছিলেন। কিন্তু পূর্ববঙ্গের সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ মানুষ মুসলমান। তাদের কোন মতামত প্রকাশিত হলেই তা সাম্প্রদায়িক হতে হবে এমন কোন যুক্তি নেই। এছাড়া, অধস্তন অন্যান্য সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষ যে বঙ্গভঙ্গ সোচ্চারে বিরোধিতা

করেছিলেন, এমন কোন সুস্পষ্ট প্রমাণ নেই। আসলে ঝোঁকটি ছিল আঞ্চলিকতার, শতবর্ষের অবহেলার কারণে যা আরো জোরদার হয়ে উঠেছিলো। এবং ১৯৭১ সালের এই আঞ্চলিক বৈষম্যই বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার পক্ষে ছিল একটি প্রধান যুক্তি।

বঙ্গভঙ্গের পক্ষে পূর্ববঙ্গে নেতৃত্ব দিয়েছিলেন ঢাকার নবাব সলিমুল্লাহ। ১৯০৪ সালের ১১ জানুয়ারী নবাব বঙ্গবিভাগ প্রস্তাব আলোচনার জন্য তাঁর ম্যানেজার মি: গার্থের বাসায় একটি সভা আহ্বান করেছিলেন। নবাব জানিয়েছিলেন, লে. গভর্ণর তাঁকে ভার দিয়েছিলেন জনমত যাচাইয়ের। আলোচনাকালে নবাব এবং অন্যান্যরা সরকারের তীব্র সমালোচনা করেছিলেন। তারপর নবাব লে. গভর্ণরের একটি নতুন প্রস্তাব দিয়েছিলেন—"the scheme to form a new province, which will include the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahaye division, and Jessore and Kulna districts with Assam, except Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar, with Dacca as its capital." [23.1. 1904]

'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' লিখেছিলো, লে. গভর্ণর যদি পূর্ববঙ্গের জন প্রতিক্রিয়া জানতে চান তাহলে কমিশনারকে বলবেন যিনি তাঁর "proper and constitutional agent." উল্লেখ্য 'বেঙ্গল টাইমস' অতীতে সবসময় নবাব পরিবারের পক্ষাবলম্বন করেছে। নবাব প্রথমদিকে বঙ্গভঙ্গের ব্যাপারে দোদুল্যমান হলেও পরবর্তীকালে সরকারের পক্ষে অবস্থান নিয়েছিলেন। পূর্ববঙ্গে নবাব পরিবারের ছিল বিস্তৃত জমিদারী এবং তিনপুরুষ ধরে তাঁদের পরিবার ছিলেন পূর্ববঙ্গের অগ্রগণ্য পরিবার। পূর্ববঙ্গের অধিকাংশ মুসলমান ও হিন্দু ছিলেন নিরক্ষর কৃষক। এদের একটি বড় অংশ, বিশেষ করে মুসলমানরা নবাবকে মনে করতেন তাদের মুখপাত্র হিসেবে। আর মুসলমান মধ্যশ্রেণী বলতেও তেমন কিছু ছিল না। যদি থাকতো তাহলে হয়ত অন্যরকম হতো। যেমন, পরবতীকালে মুসলমান মধ্যশ্রেণী শক্তিশালী হয়ে উঠলে, নবাব পরিবারকে কর্তৃত্ব থেকে সরে যেতে হয়েছিলো।

বঙ্গভঙ্গ বিরোধী আন্দোলন সীমাবদ্ধ ছিল মূলতঃ শহরে বিশেষ করে হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের ভদ্রলোকদের মধ্যে। আন্দোলন জোরদার হয়ে উঠেছিলো ঢাকায় এবং ময়মনসিংহে যা ঢাকারই কাছাকাছি। অন্যান্য অঞ্চলেও যে বাদপ্রতিবাদ খানিকটা হয়নি তা নয় তবে তা এ দুটি শহরের তুলনায় কিছুই নয়। নানাবিধ কারণে আলোড়িত হয়েছিলেন ভদ্রলোকরা যার মধ্যে আবেগ ছিল একটি প্রধান উপাদান। বঙ্গভঙ্গ প্রস্তাবকে নিয়েছিলেন তাদের অনেকে মাতৃভূমি দ্বিখণ্ডিত করার চক্রান্ত হিসেবে। স্বার্থগত কারণ তো ছিলই যা বিভিন্ন সভায় নেয়া প্রস্তাবগুলিতে ফুটে উঠেছে।

শহর ছাড়া, মফস্বল বা গ্রামেও যে জনসভা কিছু হয়নি তা' নয়। কিন্তু, তাই বলে যদি আমরা ধরে নিই, সাধারণ মানুষও এতে আলোড়িত হয়েছিলো তা'হলে ভুল হবে কারণ তা'হলে হয়ত বঙ্গভঙ্গ সম্ভব হতো না [যেমন, ১৯৬৯ সালের গণআন্দোলনে আইয়ুব খানের পতন বা ১৯৭১ সালে মুক্তিযুদ্ধ] সাধারণ মানুষ তেমনভাবে আলোড়িত না হওয়ার কারণ বঙ্গভঙ্গ–এ প্রত্যক্ষভাবে তাদের কোন স্বার্থ জড়িত ছিল না।

তবে এটা স্বীকার্য যে ১৯০৫ পর্যন্ত বিভিন্ন আন্দোলনগুলির মধ্যে বঙ্গভঙ্গই একমাত্র আন্দোলন যার ব্যাপকতা ছিল, আন্দোলনের পক্ষে বিপক্ষে অংশগ্রহণকারী মানুষের সংখ্যাও

ছিল বেশি। পরবর্তীকালে আরো ব্যাপক ভিত্তিতে গড়ে ওঠা স্বদেশী বা স্বরাজ আন্দোলনের ভিত্তি ছিল বঙ্গভঙ্গের আবেগজাত উপাদানবলী যা ঔপনিবেশিক সরকার বিরোধী আন্দোলনে পরিণত হয়েছিলো। বঙ্গভঙ্গের ফলে কিন্তু আবার আবির্ভাব হয়েছিলো এক নতুন শ্রেণীর নেতাদের যারা আবার চিহ্নিত হয়ে গিয়েছিলেন হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের সঙ্গে।[১১] অন্যদিকে মুসলমানরাও সম্প্রদায় হিসেবে আরো সচেতন হয়ে উঠেছিলেন এ আন্দোলনের ফলে যার পরিণতি ঘটেছিলো মুসলিম লীগ ও অন্যান্য ঘটনাবলীতে। শহরে মুসলমান ও হিন্দু সম্প্রদায়ের সম্পর্কে অনেকাংশে ফাটল ধরিয়েছিলো বঙ্গভঙ্গ।]

সূত্র

১. বঙ্গভঙ্গ সংক্রান্ত সরকারী নথিপত্র সংকলনের জন্য দেখুন, *Further Papers Relating to the Reconstruction of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam*, London, 1905.

২. John R. Mclane, 'The Decision to Partition Bengal in 1905', The *Indian Ecomomic and Social History Review*, Vol. II. No. 3, Delhi, July 1965.

৩. Sumit Sarkar, *The Swadeshi Movement*, New Delhi, 1973, Chapter I.

৪. বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য, অমলেশ ত্রিপাঠি, *ভারতের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের চরমপন্থী পর্ব* (অনুবাদ : নির্মল দত্ত), কলকাতা, ১৯৮৭ তৃতীয় অধ্যায়। Richard Paul Cronin, *British Policy and Administration in Bengal* 1905-1912, Calcutta, 1977. এ সময়ের জন্য আরো দেখুন, Ajit. K. Neogy, *Partitions of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1987.

৫. ৭.২.১৯০৪ এবং ৬.১২.১৯০৪–এ দুটি নোটে রিজলে লিখেছিলেন—"Bengal united is a power ; Bengal divided will pull in several different ways, that is perfectly true and is one of the merits of the scheme. এবং It is altogether easy to reply in a despatch which is sure to be published without disclosing the fact that in this scheme as in the matter of the amalgamation of Berar to the central provinces one of our main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule " উদ্ধৃত, সুমিত সরকারের *পূর্বোক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ১৭–১৮।

৬. J. H. Broomfield, *Elite Conflict in a Plural Society*, Berkely, 1966, p. 27.

৭. "For 14 months it never occured to a single human being in the departments to mention the matter, or to suggest that it should be mentioned. Round and round, like the diurnal revolution of the earth, went the file, stately, solemn, sure and slow." উদ্ধৃত, সুমিত সরকারের *পূর্বোক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ১০।

৮. সুমিত সরকাব ও ক্রনিনের গ্রন্থ এবং সরকাবি পূর্বোক্ত সংকলনে বিভিন্ন চিঠি-পত্রে এ বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা করা হয়েছে। আরো দেখুন, মুনতাসীর মামুন সম্পাদিত, *বঙ্গভঙ্গ*, ঢাকা, ১৯৮১।

৯. রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদার, *বাংলাদেশের ইতিহাস*, ৪র্থ খণ্ড, কলকাতা, ১৯৭৫, পৃ. ২৪।

১০. *ঢাকা প্রকাশ*, ২৮.১.১৯০৪।

১১. ক্রনিন, *প্রাগুক্ত*, পৃ. ২২৬।

সংকলন

DISMEMBERMENT OF BENGAL

To the Editor, Bengal Times

Sir—I shall be highly obliged if you kindly allow me some space in your much esteemed journal, and publish the accompanying letter: A crowded and an enthusiastic protest meeting was held yesterday at Bajragogini Rampal, (Dacca) ancient capital of Adisoor and Ballal Sen,[৬৮] founders of Kulinism, at whose importunity, the forefathers of the Kulins from Kanya Kubaj entered bikrampore, which was and still is the principal seat of learning and Kulinism. It was attended by all sections of the community consisting of zemindars, talukdars, panduts and priests. Babu Durga Charan Ghose, a retired sub-Judge, took the chair, Babu Govinda Chand Bhawal. B. L. gave a stirring speech. Immense enthusiasm prevailed. Several resolutions were passed respectfully protesting against the threatened transfer of Dacca to Assam, and delegates were appoinred for co-operating with the mass meeting to be held at Dacca by the middle of january. The local public are greatly excited and alarmed. Public feeling has not at all abated by Mr. Risley's later communication. It is greatly apprehended that the change will seriously affect the political, intelletcual and social status of these districts.

31st Dec., 1903

Yours faithfully,
K. C. G.

[Our correspondent is quite right in his estimate of evil effects that have been already produced by Lord Curzon's indiscretion. B. T.]

4.1.1904

ABSORPTION AND DISINTEGRATION

Last Saturday, we showed in part, what effect Lord Curzon's[৬৯] policy, in respect to disintegration of a portion of Bengal, was producing amongst all classes of his Majesty's subjects in Bengal districts. This morning, we purpose following up this subject :

demonstrating to how grievous an extent this disintegration scheme will affect Bengalees in their social and religious prospects and institutions. It may be premised at starting that, East Bengal has contributed as largely to Bengalee literature, as districts of Western Bengal, and even at this moment, there is a notable personage amongst us, who, by his writings and erudition, has proved his claim to take rank with Issur Chandra Vidya sagar and Rai Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee. Besides our fellow-townsman, others, in a minor degree, have been extensibely recognised as standing high in Bengalee literature, as well as in cultured society. Our Hindoo seciety in these parts, consists of men of highly-cultivated intellect. such as would adorn any grade of European society, and, in its highest ranks, is composed of two classes of Brahmans, who intermarry with Brahmans of Hooghly, Nadia, twenty tour Pergunnahs and other places. Kyasthas intermarry amongst their own caste, with these of Faridpur, Barisal. Jessore, & Co., and Boydas also with Boydas of these districts. Barendra Brahmans intermarry with Brahmans of Mymensingh, Pubna and Rajshahye. Now if this disintegration scheme comes into operation, Brahmans, Kyasthas, Boydas, & Co., of Dacca district, especially, will be cut off from intermarriage, according to hereditary custom, to a large extent, as intimate intercourse will be precluded largely, and districts already named will become alien to those classes with whom their higher castes have hitherto lived on terms of amity, friendship and even of kinship. Disintegration to all these will mean, if not immediately, most decidedly at no remote period, a severance of all such ties as have hitherto existed. They will moreover, lose their prestige, their learning, their social status, their local and caste attachments, their associations that friendliness has strengthened and time has rendered dear to their hearts, will be loosened by political disassociation and gradually disappear. One who is alien to these intensely conservative peoples, cannot understand why they should feel thus keenly, what others suppose is a merely nominal extension of jurisdiction, as we have heard it styled. A stranger to them cannot apprehend fully how interlaced social customs and institutions are with their religious life, hence, would be apt to deride them for objections, may readily appear frivolous and unfounded. But those who have studied these question--although even then, unable to grasp them in their entirety--will more readily appreciate how a Hindoo's life is intertwined with his religious and caste surroundings. And in such form and force do institutions, locality, neighbourly assosociation and social intercourse influence them, as to cause wonderment amongst us of remoter regions, who have never been able to comprehend the

inner life of the East, and possibly, never will be. A familiar example suggests itself in Bickrampur, which, only three score years ago, was a compact whole, united by those bonds that time strengthens and endears. It is now divided into two parts, northern and southern Bickrampur, by intervention of a lower branch of our Ganges river called Puddah. And will our readers regard us as serious and sane, when we write, that this division has worked in some small measure, almost a moral and social revolution, in a community hitherto living as a body of brethren united by a common interest and interchanging friendly amenities? Yet this is true. Members of different families who formerly lived together, so to say, are to-day divided—not in feeling, but in locality and association—some living in northern, some in southern Bickrampur. United in all that fuses families into a general community, these are bisected into tiny republics, each with a standard of independence, although owing allegiance to a common constitution of laws and religious usages. What will be produced amongst them when they are dissevered from Bengal and swept into the whirlpool of separation, to form part of a people who, but ten years ago, had a puntitive expedition sent amongst them, to put down by force of arms, a bloody custom prevailing in their midst, of head hunting? It would be bad enough for Bickrampur if they were bodily transferred, but, according to Lord Curzon's scheme, now in contemplation, half of them will be divided from their sister-half, politically and socially. What their feelings of consternation must be at such a prospect, we leave our readers to contemplate. To us, bred and educated to different modes of life, this question of divided jurisdiction may, as a grievance, appear to be a trife, almost a myth, but to our Hindoo and Muhammadan friends, it bulks as a sad and a crushing reality, and any idea of Dacca becoming a seat of chief. administration, for a fraction of a year, under this new dispensation, as proposed, seems to us impracticable and unworkable. Once again, turning to take our original view of its political aspect, we find this redistribution scheme beset with difficulties, not to style them contradictions, or anomalies. Lord Curzon tells us :—

"It is now nearly theirty years since Assam was severed from Bengal, and eleven years since it received the only territorial addition that has subsequently been made to it. This was the Lushai Hills in 1892. In 1896-97, there was a prolonged discussion as to whether the Chittagong division should also be tranferred to Assam. But, though the project seemed at one time likely to take shape, it was eventually set aside for the time, on grounds which have now ceased to have effect."

It is a wise caution that refrains from detailing those "grounds," and explaining why they should now have ceased to have effect, and we question if this mystic reticence can, in any way, fortify. Lord Curzon in his resolution. We do not know what those grounds were, if they ever existed, or how they have ceased to, exist, except to render such a project as Chittagong's detachment from Bengal rather wilder and more impolitic than ever. Her nearer union to Naraingunge has brought her in closer contact with that port in her commercial relations, and her more frequent land communication with Dacca and Calcutta has but increased her claims to be left intact ; hence, we are unable to perceive in what manner she offers herself more as subject for severance, now, than she ever did before. We will, however, let that rest at present. We read further :—

"The result is that Assam remains in much the same condition in respect of boundaries, as when it was first created a Chief-Commissionorship, and is both the smallest and the most backward of the local administrations."

So far, then, as this argument goes, it amounts to no more than this. For thirty years, this great and potentially prolific province, with expanding tea, oil, coal and other minor industries, internal and on her borders, with a steady frontier trade, import and export, has continued to be "the smallest and most backward" of all our local administrations. Presumably, she has been ruled by able men, who have failed to improve her backwardness in course of nearly one complete generation—lacking but three years of completion. To *forward* her condition, to stimulate her industries, to energise her capabilities, it is only necessary to double her responsibilities! That is, in other words, having proved her incapacity to improve with a population of 6,126,000 and an area of 56,000 square miles (53,000 or thereabouts, British territory, with a population of 5,841,000) she will receive a forward impetus by an addition of Dacca and Mymensingh, with their 9,000 square miles, a pupulation of 6,564,000 and a land revenue of seventeen lakhs ; not to mention Chittagong, with its 11,770 square miles, a population of 4,737,000 and a land revenue of thirtyone and three quarter lakhs. We thus see that Assam, unable for thirty years, to advance herself, with a population of 6,126,000, an area of 56,000 squar miles and a land revenue of sixty-eight lakhs—her gross revenue being a total of one hundred and twenty-six lakhs—will, it is calculated, progress with an additional burden of 20,770 square miles of territory, a population of 11,301,000 (nearly double her own) and a land revenue of forty eight and threequarters lakhs. Well, this is a problem Lord Curzon has worked out very neatly to

his own satisfaction. We pray Heaven he may never be so ill advised as to try such an experiment as he proposes, practically.

4.1.1904

MASS MEETING

Although we had not been favoured with an English translation of Resolutions passed at last Monday's mass meeting, till late last evening, by an oversight that brought about much confusion and inconvenience, we may still notice a movement unprecedented of its kind and class. We have witnessed many large gatherings in Bengal, but except in our Metropolis, which has ten times Dacca's population, we have not seen anything approaching in dimensions, our local meeting of last Monday afternoon. Just at first, owing to defective preliminary arrangements, there was some confusion, added to a manifestation of expectancy and impatience, but this soon subsided, and after a Muhammadan gentleman—a zemindar of East Bengal, had been elected Chairman, matters settled to tranquillity, till we had as quiet and orderly an assemblage as anyone could desire. Mr. A. C. Roy, our veteran pleader, and leader of our local bar, upon being invited to do so, explained why such terrible consternation prevailed in all parts of Bengal, and why, in especial, so many thousands of people had assembled at Sudder Ghat that evening. His address, though impassioned and emphatic, never swerved from temperate exposition, and some of his nervous periods stimulated his hearers to spontaneous bursts of enthusiasm in hearty assent. Having finished his vigorous and heart-stirring address, Rai Bahadur Kali Prossonno Ghose was next invited to speak, and acquitted himself, as he always does upon such occasions, with a heartiness and *aplomb* that won for him vociferous cheers from that vast assemblage, cheers that rolled along Sudder Ghat like a rumble of thunder and lost themselves in space. Our Rai Bahadur, like Mr. Roy, stirred his listeners hearts, till their emotion was no longer controllable, and like Bishop Wilberforce at Westminster Abbey, he touched his hearers sympathies, till they vociferated in response. A short address in English followed, but it was lost to all but a few able to understand its purport. Now, although unable to reproduce sentiments and utterances, we heard uttered and repeated, till the welkin rang with their echoes, we could fairly follow, to some extent, what was urged upon an eager and expectant crowd, assembled to learn tidings of woe that seemed to point to an era of misfortune and desolation in store for Dacca in the near future. That this, our second city in Bengal, should be absorbed, with all its associations,

historical and traditional, into a recently constituted Chief Commissionership, inhabited by tribes against whom the Sirkar had felt impelled, within living memory, to send several punitive expeditions to crush out a spirit of bloodthirstiness, could not, by any means, be understood by thousands of those who listened to their prospective fate, with sinking hearts and tearful eyes. When it was explained to them that, henceforward, Dacca was to form a part of Assam, according to official programme, they simultaneously raised a cry of "No How can that be possible?" Their conception of Assam, rightly or wrongly formed is, that it is a semibarbarous country, and their peace-abiding dispositions were greatly disconcerted at what they had just heard. As a manifestation of feeling, this meeting was an unqualified success, and an object lesson that should not be disregarded by a Government professedly paternal. It was a pitiful sight to see Dacca, as it were, in mourning, with her streets thronged by thousands of men with down cast looks and quivering hearts, in dread apprehension of an impending calamity, that they were unable to define, of formulate to their minds, in its depressing terror. In next issue, we hope to have a further account of this memorable mass meeting, in connection with which, we will publish all its resolutions, translated into English by a sure hand. We may declare before closing, that persistent and intelligent inquiry has resulted in an estimate that, no less, but probably more than, fifteen thousand persons were present at sudder Ghat last Monday.

9.1.1904

ABSORPTION AND DISINTEGRATION

Amongst many objections of an unanswerable character that we have raised, and many more that suggest themselves with irresistible force, being beased upon solid and rational grounds, why certain parts of Bengal should not be divided from their present limits of jurisdiction, and be added to Assam, and thus be practically absorbed into that province, one seems to rear its head in prominence, as conspicuous for its strength, and that is that Assam, which is supposed to be as deeply interested as Bengal, is resolutely opposed to any change, and upon tangible grounds, which we regard as irrefutable. Let us, however, consider a few reasons why Assam should, according to our administrators, receive an accession in territoral area, as well as in population. As to her prospective increase in revenue—her present aggregate being deemed inadequate—there is an exceedingly prudent reticence. We read that :—

"The province requires an impulse forward, in all these directions. It requires a territorial expansion in order to give to its officers a wider and more interesting field of work. It requires a maritime outlet, in order to develop its industries in tea, oil and coal ...... Assam moreover, will continue to be handicapped, so long as it is dependent for its service upon what it may be fortunate enough to borrow from Bengal."

If Assam depends mainly upon a single industry—tea—although it manifestly does not base "its life and administration" upon it, what right has she to fasten upon Bengal to increase her commercial or other resources? Can she not do so herself? Bengal will not, nay *cannot* help her in this direction, being essentially, a non-manufacturing, or otherwise, an industrial province, and so that argument must fail. But what about Assam, as her own pioneer? She has developed an industry almost equal in value to half-a-dozen in poor Bengal, since, when jute is counted, we have little else to enumerate, her other industries surface mineral wealth, almost untouched, and decidedly unprospected, some supposing that, apart from common metallic ore, she may yet develop gold, as she has coal, and that other prolific source of wealth—petroleum. It only wants scientific research to bring to light her hidden treasures. Bengals products are surface growths, and beneath her surface she has little of any great value. In this wise, she cannot begin to compare with Assam, which is thus wise five times her superior. And it must be remembered, if tea is Assam's chief source of revenue, she owes small thanks to Government for its discovery or nurture. Indeed, but for a timely infusion of British enterprise, capital, and dogged pertinancity, it must have died in its swaddling-clothes. Assam is, judged by its natural resources, a far more potentially opulent province than Bengal, and if she were not, surely a plea of poverty on her behalf could not seriously be advanced as a pretext for her appropriation of a large slice of Bengal, not should her officers be justified in cherishing a prospect of advancement in those facilities, that Bengal is supposed to offer to her ambition. But she apparently does not want annexation, and has openly declared as much, through her very able and farseeing Chief-Commissioner, who has expressed himself as averse to amalgamation. His ideas are those of a true statesman. and contrast most favourably in their sober reflective value, with our Viceroys more showy, tinsel speciousness of contention. This and other points we shall hope to bring under close and attentive observation in subsequent issues. Meanwhile, we must not leave a stone unturned in Bengal, to manifest our utter rapugnance at a

contemplated line of policy, that means sorrow and discontent, wailing and tears.

9.1.1904

ABSORPTION AND DISINTEGRATION

Assam, we read in Mr. Risleys[৭০] is letter to our local Government, will continue to be handicapped so long as she depends upon her power of successful borrowing for administrative work, such officer as Bengal can spare, and having it in her power to offer the prize of one Commissionership, that is remote in locality and backward in development and organisation, "she will fail to attract" the highest type of civilians to its employ." This is assigned as a main reason why Government should spoliate Eastern Bengal of some of her richest districts, provinces, we may almost style them. Perhaps a weaker argument was never set up for deliminating territorial area. In a service constituted like that of our Bengal Covenanted Civil Service, it is not optional for members to choose their own appointments, or to select particular districts for a display of administrative acrobatics. They are simply gazetted, and are compelled to go where they are bid, without reference to their individual preferences for localities. And this being so, that Assam should not *attract* a high class of official incumbent, is no argument for her not having any, as it is inferred ; altogether baselessly we believe—since an official has not a choice open to him, but is absolutely subject to Government option, unsupported by his own. Upon its strongest basis, this reason for dismembering Bengal and combining some of her best districts with a new Chief Commissionership of yesterday, resolves itself into a matter of pure selfishness in appropriating prizes of office now impliedly non-existent, but which will have their fungus growth with territorial accession. Somehow, this notion has fixed itself immovably in our Supreme Government, since we read :—

"No temporary opposition in the transferred towns or areas, no artificial agitation, or interested outcry, should, in their opinion, be permitted to divert the efforts of Government from the main object, *viz*, the erection of Assam into a vigorous and self-contained administration, capable of playing the same part on the North-east frontier of India, that the Contral Provinces have done in the centre, and that the Punjab formerly did in the North-west."

How this end is to be achieved by absorbing five districts at present under our Lieutenant-Governor, and amalgamating them with a Chief-Commissionership that, after a struggle for existence of thirty years, has failed to make ends meet, is not explained, but

we doubt not, there must be some occult administrative *legerde-main* by which this fact is to be accomplished—on paper. We shall see further developments, doubtless, as Government finds that opposition is daily attaining new sources of strength, whilst its own perverse resolution to coerce Bengal, must necessarily develop new and irremediable indications into accomplishment by an exercise of authority little, if at all short of despotic, no one need doubt, but it must be conceded to our pleading that, absolute and arbitrary power in this direction, tyrannically exercised, is not in accordance with our rulers declared policy, or that just course of toleration, to which they stand pledged. Lord Curzon will unquestionably defend himself by declaring that, in this measure, there is no absolutism, no violation of any existing law, no departure from a course of administration deemed suitable and properly adjusted to the newly-discovered needs and prospective necessities of India. Our reply is unreservedly opposed to this contention, and it is our calm, unprejudiced view that, every plea he has brought forward is without a backbone for its support. A change such as he contemplates is most serious, affecting as it does, many millions of people to an injurious extent, to their detriment and loss, not to mention their outraged feelings, and their estrangement from British rule. It is one that rouses horror and indignation wherever whispered, and is already exciting in people of all classes, a strong feeling of suspicion of that good faith in Government, upon which its vital principles of administration are professedly based, with what truth people now have an opportunity of deciding, if they may not express their opinions without reserve. Can Government hope to bind its subjects by ties of attachment and fealty to a rule under which their most sacred feelings are unnecessarily lacerated, and their ancient land marks, sanctified to them by centuries of association, are wrenched asunder and committed to a limbo of desecration—as they view their prospect? Our Government of India, we apprehend, will not by any means find that it is a mock spirit of protest that is now opposed to its purposed policy, but one of firm resolve, passively to oppose dismemberment. Nor is it of so temporary a nature as Goverment impliedly appears to foresee. Lord Curzon's proposed delimination is positively abhorrent, and all Bengal, Hindoo and Muhammandan—except a few who will curry favour with Government, because of a desire for honours and distinctions, will rise in entreaty, to be spared this threatened spoliation of inherited rights, which have grown into vigour and spread under a benignant paternal way. Nor is agitation artificial. It is but too deeply grounded to give cause for belief that, a little firmness will dissipate it. Its fervour and

unanimity are too keenly felt to mislead anyone who knows Bengalee character. There is a tenacity of purpose about it, a smouldering fire of resolve, that may at any time burst out into flame, and cause, well, inconvenience. But we have said enough upon this point for to-day. Next issue, we purpose enlarging upon this and other issues that invite tender handling.

13.1.1904

MASS MEETING

Already, we have noticed a most important mass meeting, held in this town, on Monday, 4th instant, at which resolutions were passed amidst serious discussion of Bengal's partition, it being contemplated by Government, as our readers are aware, to amalgamate Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah disticts with Assam—a measure that Bengal will most vehemently oppose. To-day we are so fortunate as to be able to reproduce those resolutions. [Before, commencement of proceedings, Moulvie Hafez Khalilur Rahaman Abu Zaighaur Sabor, Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, was unanimously voted as President. Ed. B. T.] First Resolution : "That the proposal of the Supreme Government (of India) to transfer, among certain other districts of Bengal, that of Dacca to the administration of Assam, has filled the minds of people of this district with alarm and anxiety. That this proposal, if carried out, will be productive of serious injury to people of this division, as regards legislation, administration of justice, education, social customs, religion, manners and usages, language and literature ; that it is essentially necessary that areas, where similar manners and customs, the same redigion and social systems, and ideas and idential language and literature prevail, should remain under one form of administration, and that an departure from this rule, is opposed to all sound principles of administration ; that moreover, separation of any part of a province and incorporation there of into another province where different manners customs, religions and social systems, thoughts and ideas, language and literature, and a different system of administration prevail, is inexpedient and fatally objectionable ; that, as the administration of Assam is unequal to defraying its expendition out of its own revenue, annexation of this district to Assam will result in surplus revenue of this and other districts being utilized and aborbed, for makeing up for a deficit in the revenue of Assam, and in all measures necessary for improving this district being utterly neglected. This meeting therefore is of opinion that, the of Government (of India) is highly prejudicial to the interests of this district and records its firm but respectful protest against the

same. Proposed by Babu Dinesh Chandra Roy ; seconded by Kazi Raziuddin Ahmed ; supported by Rai Chandra Kumar Dutt, Bahador, and carried with acclaim. Resolution II. That the following gentlemen be appointed delegates for represening the above mentioned views of this meeting and for deliberating on the aforesaid proposal of Government, in a meeting that will be held in this town, of delegates from various parts of this district, for protesting against the proposal of Government :— Khajeh Mahammed Yusuff ; Kazi Raziuddin Ahmed ; Syed Hassan Ali ; Syed Ali Ahmed ; Khalil A. Saber ; Mirza Mahammed Kajeim ; Kajemmuddin Ahmed Siddiki ; D. Manook ; G. Manook R. W. Hollow ; T. G. Pogose Babus Dinesh Chandra Rai ; Rup Lal Das ; Rai Kali Prasanna Ghose, Bahadur; Babus Ghandra Kumar Dutt ; Rajendra Narayan Banerjee ; Kisori Lal Chowdhury : Dharani Nath Bysak ; Govinda Chandra Das ; Govinda Lal Bysak ; Hari Das Bysak ; Revati Mohan Das ; Brindaban Dhar ; Prasanna Kumar Sen; Trailakhya Nath Bose ; Ananda Chandra Rai ; Bali Mohan Sen ; Rakhal Chandra Bysak :—Res. —Proposed by Chowdhry Rajiuddin Ahmed Siddiki, seconded by Babu Radha Ballav Das. "That an executive committee be formed, consisting of the gentlemen named in Resolution II, for collecting funds for defraying expenses in connection with the protest measure and for taking other necessary steps in the matter, The said executive committee be empowered to add to their number if necessary." Proposed by Rao Shaheb Ratan Mani Gupta ; seconded by Mr. D. Manook. Resolution IV. "That as it will take some time to hold the delegates meeting referred to in the second resolution, and to submit a memorial, protesting against the said proposal of Government, the president of this meeting be empowered to wire to Government (of Bengal) on behalf of this meeting respectfully praying that the said Government may kindly defer submitting its opinion to the Government of India; before receipt of the said memorial, and also, to wire to the Government of India respectfully praying that it may not arrive at a final decision in the matter until the said memorial be received. That the President be authorised to send to the Magistrate of this district and the Divisional Commissioner, a summary of proceedings of this meeting, together with an English translation of resolutions passed at this day's meeting, and to request them to report to Government that, local public opinion is strongly opposed to the proposal of the Government of India, and that the said proposal, if carried out, will deeply wound the feelings of the people of this part of the country. Proposed by Doctor Raj Kumar Chakravarty ; seconded by Babu Gobinda Lal Bysak, and carried unanimously and with acclamation.

13.1.1904

ABSORPTION AND DISINTEGRATION

Wednesday's issue contained few remarks, upon Bengalee character and feeling, in connection with a contemplated piece of legislation, that cannot fail to convey to every intelligent and thinking mind, an exceedingly imperfect idea of what our Government may consider good faith in political administration. There are straight paths and crooked paths, moral rectitude and moral obliquity, and it is becoming in a dominant power, jealous for its own reputation, to show by its acts, how it desires to be judged by its subjects, and to gauge their feelings as to what effect its legislation is likely to have upon them, whlist, it is not too extravagant to lay down that, a government will always find its greatest measure of success in reciprocity with those over whom it wields authority. A government, unmindful of how its subjects feel affected by its course of administration, exihibits a disregard for its best interests, and this patent fact no government can afford to treat with indifference ; and assuredly, not one professing to exercise paternal away over those unresisting millions that cheerfully and heartly submit to its decrees, in all that is just, reasonable, and appropriate to times and surroundings. objectors may advance what they regard as a very cogent argument against us, and insist it is for a ruler, not a subject, to prescribe what colour and consistency legislation shall take, and that, a subject's strongest test of loyalty is found in his unmurmuring submission to what his ruler prescribes. To a considerable extent, this is so, no doubt, but let us not lose sight of one vital fact, that obligations between rulers and ruled, under a government not professedly despotic, are mutual, as in this case, and if our Government of India considers it is discharging its duty to its millions and masses with due regard to mutual obligation, we are unfortunate enough to be unable to endorse its verdict upon that, or upon any other ground, as matters now stand, what its purposed policy is, and how it is likely to affect Bengal, we will now proceed to examine. Mr. Risley, in his letter to our local Government, says that there is a strong consensus of official opinion in favour of Chittagong division being transferred to Assam, with its area of 11,770 square miles, its population of 4,737,000, and its land revenue of thirty-one and three-quarters lakhs of rupees, and that such an opinion exists we do not in any manner doubt. Chittagong division consists of Hill Tipperah, a native state, with its area of four thousand square miles and a population of 173,000 souls—a nice addition, taken all together, and a very convenient accession, as it is supposed, notwithstanding that, its absorption was vetoed, in reality, in 1896/97, though said only to have been postponed :

"rather than vetoed, the reasons against its acceptance being mainly of a temporary character, which have since disappeared."

It would have lent force to his contention had Mr. Risley been accommodating enough to have detailed those reasons of "a temporary character" mainly, as well as those others that were not, and owing to what cause they have disappeared, since an ounce of proof is worth a hundredweighth of assertion. It did not suit him to do so, because, we are convinced, he could not make any such attempt without still further weakening his position. That he has deprived it of considerable emphasis, is evident from his allegation that :—

"The people of Chittagong themselves, who have previously been opposed to the transfer, are understood to have changed their views and to be largely in favour of the change."

Mr. Risley declares that, it is *understood* people in Chittagong have modified their opinions in favour did not suit him to do so, because, we are convinced, he could not make any such attempt without still further weakening his position. That he has deprived it of considerable emphasis, is evident from his allegation that :—

"the people of Chittagong themselves, who have previously been opposed to the tranfer, are understood to have changed their views and to be largely in favour of the change."

Mr. Risley declares that, it is *understood* people in Chittagong have modified their opinions in favour of a transfer. May we ask by *whom* this is understood? What his source of inspiration may be, it is not difficult to conjecture. His information is derived from an officially-inspired source and has led him entirely astray. If there is a strong consensus of official opinion favouring Chittagong's absorption into Assam, their is a far stronger consensus in opposition, as its population is strenuously against disturbance of its existing territorial boundaries, and this assertion of ours, we support upon indisputable testimony derived from sources that will command respect anywhere. But we need not dwell much upon assertions advanced by Mr. Risley, and by those who desire at riving of a part, and a very large and desirable part, of East Bengal. It must, of course, be granted that, whilst in general statistics, Government may, from its superior facilities and more extensive resources, be fairly accurate in several respects, in a matter of this nature, where honesty and candour are our only guides to conviction, it is far more likely to be deceived in general, than private individuals who can gauge feelings and emotions it might be deemed impolitic to betray to official observation. There are too many *apke-jo-hookum wallahs*, to be dealt with before a true estimate of popular feeling

can be gauged by our Government ; and it is just these *impedimenta* that obstruct a free interchange of confidence between rulers and ruled, so that Government seldom is in possession of popular sentiment. Now, even in Dacca, we have heard a report of public opinion becoming so divided that, it was in contemplation to convene a counter meeting to neutralise those held to protest against a partition of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong, & Co. Perhaps it is true that such a movement did occur to some few, who would desire to stand well with Government, but people of independent feeling have not, and never had, any sympathy with any such movement, nor could such an attempt result in anything short of failure, as a representation of public and popular feeling, since we all know that, ninety-nine hundreds of thinking people, who can venture to give a rein to their thoughts, are firmly opposed to annexation. Chittagong, taken as an illustration and dressed in official colours, affords a far better ground for discussion than Dacca and Mymensingh, as we will show later, in this controversy ; and we may take it that, it is quite able to hold its own, in proving how sad a mistake our Government will commit itself to in its annexation policy. For Dacca and Mymensingh, much remains to be said, upon which we have touched very lightly heretofore, but which need not be considered of less importance on that account. We mean to continue our contention and to prove to intelligence and reason, should we even fall to convince Government, that our arguments are founded on sound and unassailable ground—on feeling and principle, and that our objections to bring reduced to a political nonentity are worthy of serious and patient consideration.

16.1.1904

NARYANGONG MASS MEETING RESOLUTIONS

Before the commencement of the proceedings, Babu Tarak Chandra Banerjea, Zemindar, was unanimously voted to the Chair, Proposed by—Munshi Abdul Gaffur seconded by—Munshi Golam Assad. *Resolution. I.* That the proposal of the Government of India to incorporate, amongst certain other districts of Bengal, the district of Dacca with the Assam administration has caused great and widespread anxiety and alarm in the public mind. That if the said proposal be carried into effect, the people of this district will suffer seriously by gradual detorioration in matters of legislation, administration of justice, education, religious and social costoms and institutions, language and literature. That in any local area, similarity in manners, customs, religious and social institution, usages, literature, language, in general modes of life and accepted

ideas of sociality, most appropriately requires that the said extent of locality be comprised within the limits of one and the same unit of provincial administration, and any departure from this politically healthful well-established and salutary principle of territorial distribution, and the consequent retrogression in, and deterioration of, the entire system of Civil Polity is against all cannons of smooth an successful administration ; and that therefore, the present Government proposal of territotial partition and redistribution is a most inexpedient, ill-advised and highly objectionable measure, and one that cannot be contemplated without provoking painful uneasiness and misgiving. That Assam not being in a position to defray its own cost of administration, the proposed separation and amalgamation would necessarily spell a diversion in the application of the surplus revenues of this district in favour of Assam's present insolvent administration to the manifest neglect of an injury to the interest of this district in useful mandatory undertakings. That therefore the meeting being clearly convinced that the aforesaid proposal of our supreme Government affords serious meance to the vital concerns of this district, most firmly yet respectfully desires to enter its earnest protest against it. Proposed by--Babu Chinta Haran Chatterjea, Supported by—Moulvi Shahabuddin, Munshi Abdul Gofur, Golam Arsod, Munshi Abdul Bari, Kamiraddi Sardars. *Carried unanimously. Resolution II.* That the following persons be appointed delegates to set forth, on behalf of this meeting, its views in the meeting shorty to be held in the town of Dacca, where delegates from various places of the district are expected to meet and protest against the said proposal and to memoralize our supreme Government as it thinks fit in connection therewith. Proposed by—Babu Baroda Kanta Banerjea, Seconded by—Munshi Abdul Bari, Supported by—Babu Protap Chandra Chandra. *Carried unanimously.* Babus Govinda Chandra, Dr. Mothura Nath Das, Hora Kumar Datta, Pratap Chandra Chanda, Nibaran Chandra Banerjee, Lalit Mahan Ray, Bepin Chandra Das, Ananda Mohon Roy, Hemanga Kumar Basu, Taraprosanno Das, Sasi Kumar Datta, Devendra Chandra Mozumdar, Nava Krishna Bhaduri. Gagan Chandra Ray, Sasi Bhusan Datta, Sria Chandra Chatterjea, Kailas Chandra Majumdar, Adlaita Chandra Dhar, Bhubaneswar Dhar, Sarva Mohan Chakaravarti, Nanda Kumar Chowdhri, Adhava Chandra Das, Ram Kumar Das, Hemanta Kumar Welabandi, K. Behari Guha. Woomes Chandra Singha, Chintra Haran Chatterjee, Nabin Chandra Mukerjee, Annoda Charn Chakravarti, Devendra Nath Banerjee, Monmohan Pal, Lalit Mohan Pal, Kali Mohan Chatterjee, Sorat Chandra Gupta, Kali Narayan Ray. Adinath Das, *Resolution III.* That an executive committee be formed, consisting of fourteen

persons, with power to add to this number, for the purpose of collecting funds to defray expenses in connection with the protest memorial and of taking other necessary action in this behalf. Proposed by—Babu Sarat Chandra Gupta, Seconded by—Babu Manmohan Pal, Supported by Moulavi Hassnali, *Carried unanimously Resolution IV.* That as some time must necessarily elapse before the memorial from the Delegates meeting protesting against the said proposal can be sent up to Government, the President of this meeting be empowered to telegraph and pray our Bengal Government to be pleased to defer expressing its opinion till that memorial has been received and considered, and likewise to request our supreme Government by telegram to be indulgent enough to postpone its final decision on the proposal territorial transfer till the aforesaid memorial reaches its hands ; that the President be requested to communicate the proceedings of this meeting with translation of the resolutions to the sub-Deputy and district Magistrates and to the divisional Commissioners ; also, to solicit their kindly reporting to Government that public feeling runs exceedingly strong against the afore-said proposal, and that the people look upon the proposed measure in the light of a grievous public misfortune. Proposed by—Babu Lalit Mohan Pal, Seconded by—Babu Ananda Chandra Chakrabarty. Supported by—Babu Bepin Chandra Shaha, *Carried unanimously.* The meeting then separated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

16 1.1904

ABSORPTION AND DISINTENGRATION

All along, our aim has been to induce our local Government to examine well Lord Curzon's proposal to dismember Bengal, and not to allow even official opinion to mislead into conceptions that will not bear the test of practical analysis. It is a great question, that is now being offered to be weighed by experience, by wisdom, and by justice, and why should we hesitate to add, also, in some measure, by sentiment, for every man of sound and well digested knowledge of India and of her peoples. will unhesitatingly admit that. in most Sate affairs dealing with questions touching Indian customs, and institutions, social, commercial, or religious sentiment must be taken into account. as a more or less motive lever, and that it most decidedly cannot be omitted as a factor in British Indian legislation. Weighing matters then, as they stand, and making every allowance for our rulers' anxiety to equalise population, revenue and territorial area, as far as may be, with our various administrative charges, and adapting our policy to the growing

requiremants of India, we have to consider three questions, and lay to heart that, our natural insight be allowed easy scope, to mark how they may affect those under our rule. These questions we may rightly style problems, and we must deal with them by laying them before our mind's eye in their nude and crude entity. We must seek to know, should this matter of partition be resolved upon, how much Bengal will gain ; also how much she will lose, and in either case, to each other, and to Assam. It is obviously useless, as well as ungenerous, to insist that, we have *nothing* to gain and everything to lose, by absorption and that constituting Dacca a Lieutenant-Governorship, or even a Chief-Commissionership, with its head-quarters locally fixed in our sudder station, will not make any difference at all to East Bengal. It will, it manifestly must make *some* difference, with a balance in our favour, especially, if what we hear is under contemplation be brought to pass--to give Dacca a Legislative Council and a High Court. We do not mean to be betrayed ... our now impregnable position, by admitting an element of weakness into our contention, nor do we aspire to meet our rulers in any but an open field of argument, without fear of favour, in courtesy and in good will. It is not that we are in opposition from caprice, or from a mere desire to obstruct our rulers ; far from it. We would be only too pleased to meet them upon a common ground of good feeling and mutual accommodation, and it is in this spirit alone, that we are prepared to make larger concessions than we should be bound to do by the strict rules of argument, which would excuse us from any admission whatever, under any circumstances. But if opponents to absorption generously concede certain points, they expect in their turn to receive concessions, and as a preliminary, we shall ask, whilst admitting the accrual of some advantages, what Dacca is to have as compensation for losses that we do not feel can be replaced. Oppositionists here are not willing to accept what Government *hints* at offering, in exchange, for even in that respect, all is uncertainty ..... In other words, although our loss is *sure*, our compensation is problematical! It is this uncertainty, added to weightier considerations, that causes so widespread a feeling of discontent to prevail, and all classes of our Indian subjects to resolve to state their grievances fairly undisguisedly and fully, and to abide the consequences. How does this new line of policy affect his Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects in East Bengal? Is there a hamlet, let alone a district, in which a score of families reside, where a single voice is, or ever will be heard in favour of partition? We say emphatically—No! And why this unanimity of sentiment upon a question so momentous? Because people hereabouts feel that, they are about to be absorbed

into a province that was regarded within living memory, as a land of terror, and is still to many, a place of banishment and despair. Their own province is to lose its political individuality, and many of its local customs, based partly on religious rites and ceremonials, will gradually be lost to them ; families into which they have married for centuries will be displaced, and their very landmarks, rendered venerable by antiquity, will slowly fade out, or be ousted by new comers, and a new order of society ; caste ties will be riven, and men who are now conspicuous by their distinguished position as leaders of thought in East Bengal, will then be swallowed up into insignificance. What is to compensate for all this? Political extinction will mean industrial decadence and even partial agricultural stagnation. those of our industries which have promised revival since our railway and an improved communication with Calcutta opened a prospect to them, will now languish to a greater extent than ever ; our local commerce, that is purposed to be deflected to Chittagong, will suffer greatly, whilst our immense districts will be drained of their trade capital. Altogether, Dacca will not only lose what she has gained during thirty years past, but she must be cast back in progress, so that, to regain her lost status will be a task beyond her, since her resources will be applied to raise and improve our new province, to her own palpable loss and detriment. Decidedly, if made the seat of a Chief Commissionership, she will gain in some respects, but her losses, as we have considered them, will far more than counterbalance her gains. There is a tendency, we can clearly perceive, to induce some of our principal citizens to withdraw their determined opposition, and to submit with a good grace to what is represented to them as "the inevitable," and immediately they do this, to "sound the loud timbrel o'er *India's* dark sea," but we fancy our provincial politicians are far too wide awake to "sign, seal and deliver" at anybody's bidding. Very properly, they will first of all, demand a clear statement of objects and reasons, and request a reasonable time for cousultation and reflection, before they will admit there is anything like a tendency to a division of feeling, and to a leaning towards a policy of spoliation.

20.1.1904

ABSORPTION AND DISINTEGRATION

Notwithstanding that we had ample material on which to animadvert, we carefully abstained trom noticing what passed at a so called Conference held here on 11th instant, when statements were advanced, that fell to pieces on being subjected to a very

simple test, that is a comparison of dates, which showed on over-anxiety to atone for sins of commission, by anticipating their perpetration. We intend still, for a brief interval, to hold our hand in reference to some features of this local Conference, for reasons it is not convenient to disclose to-day, though later, we shall do so with pleasure combined with frankness. It is as well, we think, before we enter upon what has leaked out locally, to see what others have to say upon this subject. A special (own) correspondant of a Calcutta daily, that does not mince matters to finely, we mean our friend of *Amrita Bazar.* remarks under date 16th inst. (see *A. B. P.* of 19th inst.) thuswise :—

"The reader is already aware that, on Monday, the 11th instant, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca invited some leading gentlemen of the town at the place of Mr. Garth, his manager, to discuss the proposed partition question. At this meeting the Nawab Bahadur informed the gentlemen present that he had been authorised by the Lieutenant-Governor to ascertain the views of the people regarding the scheme to form a new province, which will include the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahye divisions, and Jessore and Kulna districts with Assam, except Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar, with Dacca as its capital."

If we allow that Sir Andrew[৭১] desired to gauge popular opinion—a desire not improbable in one situated as he is in his political capacity—it would most naturally occur to us that, he would have selected our divisional Commissioner—his direct and official medium of communication—as his proper and constitutional agent, and that our Commissioner would have endeavoured to fulfil his task through our district officer, in *his* turn, he being our Commissioner's direct medium. Thus, it seemed improbable, that Sir Andrew would so informally have sought to know how our native subjects in East Bengal or even in Dacca, stood affected on this question and still less would be have been likely to define any territorial boundary, as likely to demark absorption of any part of Bengal, and this in face of mass meetings already convened all over these districts, that had expressed opinions not susceptible of mistake as to their feelings and convictions, both of which they had made audible by resolutions it was impossible to misunderstand. We therefore think it not unlikely our Nawab Bahadur might have been labouring under a misconception, as to what Sir Andrew really meant and said. It would be singular for a comparatively young man like our Nawab, to be entrusted with so important a mission for discussion amongst grey beards, when, firstly, his own position was undefined, and therefore irresponsible ; and secondly,

it seemed improbable that, our able Commissioner, an experienced administrator, well acquainted with East Bengal, and upon whose judgment so much reliance might be placed, should have been ignored so completely, as to be even unaware, apparently, of what was transpiring. However that may be, it did not seem feasible to those twenty-five gentlemen who had responeded to our Nawab's requisition—invitation, or whatever else it may suit himself or his employes to call it that statesman should place himself in a position so moderate amounting almost to a compromise—and so, after comparing a few dates, and consulting briefly, they very prudently asked that his Honour's proposal should take form and be recorded constitutionally, for later consideration, not by themselves alone, since they repressented but a fraction of Dacca's landed interest, but by a general assemblage of zemindars, talukdars, & Co. To this it was instantly demurred that, it need not be recorded, since it was an informal proposal, and that their proceedings were of a private nature, and it was ultimately decided that they should send in an expression of their feeling upon this question, as it at present stood, in this newly-featured aspect, they never having even heard that any such proposal, as now modified was to be submitted for their immediate acceptance, without submission to a general debate, without reflection or serious discussion, As our local politicians were not born yesterday, and as they noted an adoption of coolly assumed authority by one present who had no more *locus standi*, nay, rather less than themselves, individually, they felt that loss of temper would be inevitable, were their discussion, which had waxed rather warm, to continue, and as results might ensue which prudence should forbid, they agreed that, after an incubation of ten days, they would send in a reply, which, practically, it did not need ten seconds to arrive at, fully and clearly ; and we hear it has been sent to our Nawab in a negative form, since there is not a man here whose opinion is worth a moment's thought, who would hesitate to endorse this view. In a word wated rather warm, to contunue, and as results might ensue which prudence should forbid, they agreed that, after an incubation of ten days, they would send in a reply; which, practically, it did not need ten seconds to arrive at, fully and clearly ; and we hear it has been sent to our Nawab in a negative form, since there is not a man here whose opinion is worth a moment's thought, who would hesitate to endorse this view. In a word, we may say that, this so-styled Conference, from which so much was expected, and that, had matters been wisely conducted, might have led eventually to some sort of amicable arrangement, ended in a miserable fiasco, and its authors felt they had been

enormously over matched by those who were apparently called together to be instructed that they were to endorse all they were told. Unaccustomed to be treated as puppets and armed with facts and probabilities that demonstrated, very plainly, how strongly they were barricaded, as any flank movement to drive them from their stronghold must be different to that now attempted, they held their position, as they mean to hold it, unflinchingly. We saw very clearly, before any discussion took shape, in what probable result it would eventuate, and were even prepared for worse than what occurred. If our divisional Commissioner whishes for a fair exposition of public opinion, and will duly advertise a public meeting—openair preferred—and will invite responsible persons to attend it and declare how they feel affected, after placing before them any complete scheme drawn up for their consideration, and based upon reasonable and equitable grounds, he will meet with a warmth of reception, we feel sure, such as no divisional Commissioner has ever met. It seems to us, this is what is wanted. People who realise that, they have so much at stake, do not care to discuss their position, except with men of matured intellect. To this we must add, men who also have something to lose, who are of sound judgment, of cultured understanding, of good old family and distinguished descent. If these conditions are not all present, in full force, amicable adjustment, we fear, will not be easy.

23.1.1904

PROTEST MEETING

If last evening's protest meeting at Northbrook Hall may be taken to corroborate what has passed at other meetings, both here and elsewhere, our most sceptial opponent, however devoted to "official opinion," must be convinced of a unanimity of feeling in this part of Bengal—never known previously—in a set resolve to oppose, by all lawful means, Lord Curzon's disintegration scheme. No one who has attended any of these meetings, but must acknowledge that, there is not any sign of wavering perceptible. All are united in one common object, and Lord Curzon, with all his silvery eloquence, will fail to turn their hearts from what they realise to be an object of duty, not to themselves alone, but to those destined to succeed them. Much enthusiasm prevailed last evening. In next issue, we hope to be able to publish proceedings.

27.1.1904

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Doubtless, if official opinion is so largely in favour of a partition of Bengal, as to be, according to Mr. Risley's letter ... influential

endorsement will not exclude consderations built upon reason, justice and adaptation to people and circumstances, from having some place in gubernatorial judgment. Frankly and freely, if these advocates claim for Lord Curzon's porpose line of policy, in regard to a terriotorial partition and segregation of Bengal, that it is far seeing, statesmanlike, and calculated to do good, they will not, they cannot, object to our requiring from them a principle of consistency in their far-rearhing, though, as we consider, destructive aims. If this is considered just and right, why, we may ask, should Bengal be treated differently to Orissa, which, being a province also under our Lieutenant-Governor's jurisdiction, is to preserve its religion, its laws, its language and all systems and advantages derivable from these, individually and collectively ; that is, that all Ooria-speaking races, tribes, and classes are to be amalgamated, because of their identity in language and literature, sacred and profane ; and also, because, by some occult administrative *legerde-main*, by this means, they are to lessen our Lieutenant-Governor's legislative and Municipal burdens. Let us admit as much, for argument's sake. Why then, we may ask, not mete out an equal measure of even handed justice to Bengal, and preserve in a compact mass, all Bengalee-speaking people in adjoining districts? Why, by a legislative enactment, that must press with cruel weight upon these ill fated persons ; ... that is, that all Ooria-speaking races, tribes, and identity in language and literature, sacred and profane ; and also, because, by some occult administrative *legerde main*, by this means, they are to lessen our Lieutenant-Governor's legislative and Municipal burdens. Let us admit as much, for arguments sake. Why then, we may ask, not mete out an equal measure of even-handed justice to Bengal, and preserve in a compact mass, all Bengalee-speaking people in adjoining districts? Why, by a legislative enactment that must press with cruel weight upon these ill fated persons, separate in sympathy and territorial fraternity, brethren who have dwelt together so long in union and harmony? People in India, and especially those under the immediate rule of our Government of Bengal, are constantly reminded that, they are, or should be peculiarly happy, living under the sway and protective solicitude of a Paternal Government, and they are quite prepared to accept their lot, as such. Let us however, ask—Is it a duty of Government to divide its subjects in interest, in order to establish its care for their well-being? We should imagine, writing as a layman, supposed to be unversed in those responsibilities which devolve upon a ruler, that construction and maintenance of empire are imperative duties, emphasized by considerations which have to be weighed in every step that may be deemed

necessary to promote development of prosperity and compactness of structure under our dominancy, and it is inconceivable to us how this object can be carried out, by a division of those who have hitherto lived contented as friends and neighbours, enjoying mutual and coincident rights and privileges, in reference to their status, as regards territorial limitation, education, religion, social customs and institutions, language, and tradition. It is a widely-recognized principle, that, as far as all these are involved, unity and unanimity form important factors of material progress, and that, in provincial areas where these exist in sympathy, all those affected by legislation should be comprised within an identical unit of provincial administration, and any departure from this well, this universally acknowledged and salutary principle of territorial distribution, must inevitably lend to retrogression and deterioration in the entire system of civil polity, by militating against all admitted canons of smooth and successful Government ; hence, this proposed step of territorial partition is ill-advised, inexpedient and on that cannot be contemplated without provoking painful uneasiness and misgiving. Bengal proper and her people cannot but view this studied attempt to thrust them upon strangers with repugnance and we can fancy we hear them protesting :—

"And my people ask politely,
How a friend I know so slightly,
Can be more to me than others I have liked a year or so ;

But they've never heard the history
Of our transmigration mystery,
And they've no idea I loved you those millenniums ago."

Both Muhammadans and Hindoos of eastern and western Bengal are intensely conservative of habit, and they not unnatuarally dread an attempted severance from their landmarks, riveted by associations sanctified by the cementing affection of centuries, which they feel cannot be riven by any form of legislation that may be a tempted by alien rulers acting under a misconception of their close bond of union with their surrooundings. View it, as we will, we cannot but be convinced that, Lord Curzon's plan of disintergation can never commend itself to Bengalee sympathies and preconceptions ; and if enforced, must eventuate in discontent and heart-burning. For today, we close our notice, but we have not by any means exhausted our arguments.

27.1.1904

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Coming from a man of Sir Henry Cotton's[৭২] known integrity of principle and varied experience, his Minute in reference to Chittagong's absorption into Assam written under date 26th January, 1897, published in a Calcutta daily contemporary—*Bengalee*—dated 26th instant, and freely commented upon next day at an immense meeting at Northbrook Hall must be acknowledged by all to be a document at once most important and valuable in its bearing upon Lord Curzon's proposed policy of disintegration. And, although its interest centres principally in its relation to Chittagong, it obviously has a wider-reaching intention, and exercises and influence over a more extensive range of policy, embracing within its elastic scope any and every question of assimilating any portion of Bengal Proper with Assam. And if we contrast his views with those of his predecessor, we shall see at once how greatly and widely men may differ upon a most vital problem of territorial distribution, although, happily, possessing every advantage that might guide them to a statesmanlike judgment. Sir Henry Cotton decidedly displayed his power in this matter. Sir William Ward, in his letter of 25th November, 1896, to our Supreme Government, wrote that he considered :—

"the proposal to transfer the Chittagong division to be specially desirable, as, with the enlargement of the province of Assam, it will be possible to take a substantial step towards the creation of separate services for the province in the different branches of the general administration, in substitution for the present very unsatisfactory system of borrowing officers temporarily from Bengal."

Upon this point, Sir Henry, then Mr. Cotton, took a firm stand of objection. To his judgment, it was not possible, and if possible, it did not seem desirable, to establish a self-contained service for Assam, in special reference to our Civil Service though applicable to all other branches of our public service, since even with Chittagong included, Assam would be too small a province to support such an organization, and would still be so, *even with Dacca and Mymensihg districts added,* since there would *always* be an insufficiency of higher posts in proportion to the cadre of Assam. On reading thus far, one feature of his contorversy forces itself upon attention, and that is, apart from other assailable points of Sir William Ward's contention, the extremely selfish principle that underlies it. He does not in any respect trouble himself as to how such a step would suggest itself to those whose immediate and permanent interests would be most vitally affected ; all he can persuade himself to consider is, how many fat appointments such a

partition may possibly open to his own service. A man who confines himself to so narrow a view, is scarce competent to deal with a question of such vast and stirring importance, but we will return to this part of our subject after a while. Certain disadvantages that never occurred to Sir William Ward, have been very ably put by Sir Henry Cotton. For Indian officers to be destined to pass their whole service in our swampy districts of Eastern Bengal, or in remote districts in Assam, he thinks, and rightly so, would be highly invidious, and calculated to create a feeling of discontent, whilst their chance of obtaining high prizes would be infinitesimally small. Their limitations of area would present few attractions, cost of living would be heavy, in a climate more than usually unfavourable to European constitution, nor would anything in their conditions of service compensate for these drawbacks, in any form or degree, or place their Indian career upon an idential platform with that of their brother civil servants in other provinces. As present consitituted, their service, under existing arrangements for its recruitment from Bengal, does not labour under these disadvantages, and hence Sir William Ward's objection to it, as unsatisfactory, disappears. It has worked tentatively for many years with marked success, Bengal has received back from Assam many of its most matured and experienced officers, and it is a source of continual encouragement to those in Assam to feel that, in consequence of their temporary delegation to that province, their chances of rising to high office in Bengal is not in any respect imperilled. It is obvious that, one disadvantage attends service in Assam, and that is, that her scale of official emolument is lower than that of Bengal, but this disability would not be cured by creating a separate service for Assam. Sir Henry has clearly shown that existing arrangements for recruiting our Civil Service in Assam would be very difficult to sustain if her territorial area were enlarged, and from whatever point of view it may be regarded, it seemed to Sir Henry Cotton, who wrote from an experience required whilst in contact with Assam and her facilities or otherwise, that, were she expanded after Sir William Ward's somewhat ambitious scheme, her problem of recruiting her Civil Service would prove a very serious stumbling-block in her administration, and all who have studied this problem with attention will, and must agree that, Sir Henry Cotton's opinion was based upon facts that no sophistry can dispel. Having candidly given scope to it in his Minute, he proceeded to consider Chittagong's absorption, or transfer to Assam—as it has all along been styled—upon its own merits, and it seems to us he palpably strengthens his position, as he proceeds. His first objection—opposed, as before, to Sir William

Ward's—confirms us in our conclusion that he must necessarily have studied this question with much closeness of anlysis, and with much candour of judgment, since he tells as what we have here urged so emphatically in our public meetings, resulting, as they all have, in firmly manintained remonstrance with Lord Curzon's Governmment, that administration in Assam is conducted upon necessarily less advanced lines than it is in Bengal, save in one respect alone, and that is, with reference to the large number of Europeans employed upon Assam tea gardens. These gentlemen have formed a public opinion of their own, which, in its reflex upon Bengal, exercised a powerful influence upon departments affected by ... opposed as before to Sir William Ward's—confirms us in our conclusion that he must necessarily have studied this question with closeness of analysis and with much candour of judgment, since he tells as what we have here urged so emphatically in our public meetings, resulting, as they all have, in firmly-maintained remonstrance with Lord Curzon's Government, that administration in Assam is conducted upon necessarily less advanced lines than it is in Bengal, save in one respect alone, and that is with reference to the large number of Europeans employed upon Assam tea gardens. These gentlemen have formed a public opinion of their own, which, in its reflex upon Bengal, exercises a powerful, influence upon departments affected by it. In short, this interest in Assam, has grown into a power unparallcled in influence in any part of India, but in all other respects, in every department in which this tea interest is not dominant, it would, Sir Henry freely and manfully has admitted, be mere affectation to pretend that Assam is upon a level with Bengal in point of progress and development. By comparison with Bengal, Assam has shown an extraordinarily slow rate of progress, in population, in wealth and in education, and he goes on :—

"It is true also that the constitutional privileges enjoyed by the people in Bengal, are to a large extent unkown in Assam. I do not think it necessary to dwell at length on this point, but I will give an indication of what I mean."

He is true to his promise, and most clearly manifests in his exposition, to what great disadvantage Assam labours in this wise. Her Chief-Commissioner exercises similar functions to those of our Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Now, it is well known that, as a rule, our Sudder Board members are selected because of their ripe experience, and are generally admitted to be men of more than ordinary capacity, who have had a long training to qualify them to deal with revenue problems. These gentlemen frequently have before them our very best Calcutta barristers, and not seldom, our

advocate-General, to argue cases complicated by technical difficulties, and this mode of representation by learned and able lawyers, is a constitutional privilege much prized by people in Bengal. If we compare Assam with Bengal in this wise, what a contrast is presented to us. A Chief-Commissioner of that province can very rarely, if ever, claim to be an expert in Bengal revenue affairs. His head-quarters are at Shillong, which is without counsel, and to some extent almost inaccessible to Calcuta from its distance and its surroundings. A Chief-Commissioner ordinarily decides cases in *camera*, upon reports of local officers, and as he exercises powers equal to those of our Sudder Board, and being moreover, officially head of his administration, his decision is final, because there cannot be any appeal from it to higher jurisdiction, as in Bengal, where our Lieutenant-Governor acts as a final Court of appeal—a contrast that must arrest attention by its manifestation of inequality. Sir Henry, then, alluding to people inhabiting Chittagong in this connection, observed :—

"It is a matter of notoriety that, they regard the prospect with apprehension, and I am at a loss to conceive how their objections in such a matter can be characterised as a mere sentimental grievance."

And just so is it with Dacca and Mymensingh. Equally with Chittagong, do they contemplate such a prospect with alarm and grief, and it is unnecessary to add that they can never be reconciled to it. This will become apparent as we proceed.

30.1.1904

DISMEMBERMENT OF BENGAL

Perhaps, so long as Lord Curzon saw that dismemberment of Bengal, as formulated in *camera* and privately discussed in Council—or out of it—was an unknown project to those fated principally to suffer, he was less uneasy in mind than now, that a hornet's nest has been incited against his proposed scheme, all his perplexity, or decidedly a goodly percentage of it, might have been spared him, had he done, as he professes it is his habit to do, taken the public into his confidence and invited those who have really and creafully studied this question, to meet and confer upon its fesibility, as a political problem of grave import. He would then have felt opposition to his measures could not be traceable— as certain sycophants now profess it is—to a mere spirit of obduracy, built upon sentimental emotion, but that it lies deep in the hearts of a conservative people, accustomed to look to Government as a defender and protector of its rights and immunities, although even

had they confessed to being excited by sentiment, that confession could hardly have been used to their detriment. If we were to enquire what is sentiment? Our answer could readily be furnished. It is feeling. and feeling is the touchstone of human nature. It is a guiding and governing power, an element that enters into all the relations of life. from our cradles to our graves, and tempers passion to the softer impulses of our being, for what would life be without it? But Lord Curzon is far too astute and right-judging a ruler to cast aside sentiment, altogether, or to suppose that, hundreds of thousands of men could be moved to suffering upon the shadowy bogus of a fleeting misconception. Or, taking the weakest argument possible, we would ask him to pause for a moment and consider, if a certain forth of legislation is calculated to arouse such intensity of feeling, it is other wise, or just to persist in it, as a channel for a policy whose pursuit cannot but lead to results far from conductive to a continuance of that loyalty and temperance of demeanour, that have marked the conduct of our Indian subjects for so many years past, Of late, we have seen accomplished statisticians and diplomats bred in a school of sensational politics, pushing their theories in India to an extremity that must culminate in disaster, if carried beyond defined limits. Far be it from us to assert, or even to hint, that our Government, bound as it is to a policy of moderation as a reflex of its own far-seeing and far-reaching, constitutional administration at home, would desire, by act or intention, to render its rule distasteful to its unoffending millions in India ; still, we must never lose sight of one great and momentous fact, that, the right government of men demands a deep and thoughtful study of human passion, and that a theory repugnant to millions cannot be pushed to a conclusion to gratify the few, without a risk of distrubing an existing equilibrium of peace and harmony of relation amongst the masses, nor would it be wise to attempt it, whilst a world is smouldering in suppressed indignation, arising from a sense of betrayed trust. Lord Curzon will be amongst us in person in less than a fortnight, and if he acts according to the dictates of a well-balanced and candid mind, he will himself confess that, the measure he proposes to adopt, is altogether in discord with public desire, and hence is unadvisable under existing feeling. What it may become hereafter, when conditions have been modified by altered circumstances, supposing such a contingency possible, is not for us to anticipate. Decidedly, as matters now stand, Bengal is unprepared to acquiesce in so radical and important a change of polity. So far as it may affect her religious and social status, we are less able to expose her views than those able men, who have spoken in public, in strong and

unvarying protest, but we are in an equally favourable position with them in other respects. We are able to perceive a widely different line of policy pursued by government to that adopted in 1896. We can perceive that, when a comparatively small slice of Bengal—Chittagong—was a subject of debate, as to its transfer to Assam, our High Court Judges were consulted, our Chief-Commissioner of Assam was asked his opinion, and many other authorities were invited to submit their's. Now, when a far more extensive and radical measure is under consideration, we are told that Government does not propose to consult our High Court, and we know that, our present Chief-Commissioner, like Sir Henry Cotton, is opposed to annexation. In these circumstances, seeing our High Court Judges have not been referred to at all and that Assam is averse to accept any accession of territorial area, how are we to interpret our Supreme Government's attitude? If a proposal of annexing Chittagong alone indicated a mischievous policy, if it implied retrogression and injustice, as our High Court said it must, how much stronger would have, nay, must have, been our High Court's dissent from Lord Curzon's views, as regards Dacca and Mymensingh as additions, hard its Judges been asked for their views? It is useless to contend that our High Court is silent. It is so, because it cannot enter unasked into a question of this nature ; but the cause of its silence is significant. Will Government, then, accept the responsibility of plunging Bengal in desolation, upon its own responsibility, without a reference to its ablest and most emphatic advisers? Upon judicial grounds, we are certain out High Court Judges would never acquiesce in a policy they have already described as mischievous, and upon political grounds, an official of high standing and ripe experience, whose very position is surrounded by conditions that arm him with his strongest arguments, has expressed a positive aversion to the proposal of any portion of Bengal being annexed to his charge. Are these not in themselves, sufficient to deter Government in its ill advised course? it was said through Mr. Risley, that pre-existing considerations not to absorb Assam no longer exist. Let us suppose so. Would that fact not of itself be strong enough to enlist our High Court as Government's staunchest advocate for annexation? Would their disappearances not be simultaneous with a withdrawal of our High Court's uncompromising opposition, as regards not only Chittagong, but also, in reference to Dacca and Mymensingh? But what are these considerations? Surely, since they have ceased, as alleged, Government's position must necessarily have become stronger, and yet, with its added strength, it declines to invite to its counsel those whose cooperation—if practicable—would be

invaluable? Does it not need some more tangible ground than Mr. Risley's *ipse dixit* to assure us that, a change favourable to Lord Curzon's proposal has taken place since 1896? Mere assertion is valueless. What we ask is proof, and until we have it, based upon unanswerable premises, can we be deemed unreasonable if we maintain our attitude of opposition? Government must be aware that we have, in our counsels, men quite as capable at least, of gauging public feeling, as any member of Council, and ordinarily far more capable Are we, and our supporters in the ablest journals in India, alike under a delusion?

6.2.1904

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL
A SUPPRESSED MEMMORIAL

The Offical Secrets Act has not yet been amended so as to make the publication of suppressed memorials criminal. We accordingly give publicity to the following copy of a petition which has we understand, been presented to the Viceroy : "The Humble Petition of the honourable Society of Opium-Smokers, Bagbazar." Sheweth— That the proposal of partitioning Bengal and transferring its eastern districts to Assam, has met with the whole-hearted approval of your petioners, who, by common report, are the most contemplative peace-loving, loyal and timid community of His Majesty' subjects ; in as much, as such territorial redistribution satisfies their sense of the natural fitness of things, a sense of possession of which in considered by them as one of their proud privileges. That the hue-and-cry raised by the nonopium-smoking section of the Bengalee community, besides being annoying, vulgar and noisy to a degree, is factitious, possibly fictitious, at any rate, inconsistent with the traditional somnolent suavity and dignified apathy of the race. and as such cannot but be condemned by those, who, like your petitioners. seek to preserve the continuity of traditions through the medium of vegetable product which contains the very soul of conservatism. That your petitioners have perused with pleasure, the letter written by the Hon. Mr. Risley, and in their humble opinion, it is a masterpiece of a type of literature that is yet to come What they specially admire in that letter, as a literary production, is its absolute freedom from the vicious rules of reason and logic, consistency and relevancy, which hamper the free flow of orginal ideas, and in only too many cases. repress the native genius of the writer. Your lordship is well aware that fools only make a fetish of reason, and as fools happen to be in the majority, she has become an idol of the market-place. But as

your petitioners avoid the busy haunts of men and the light of day, passing their lives in silent and secluded temples of contemplation, vulgarly known as opium dens ; they have succeeded in preserving the freedom of their spirit, and can legitimately claim to be intellectually the best fitted community to appreciate the imaginative and emotional quantities of Mr. Risley's letter. That your petitioners fail to comprehend, on what valid grounds the agitating and agitated Bengali public can take lawful exception to the proposed partition. It has been established beyond cavil, by scientific reasoning and scientific appliances, that no people or race in Asia can claim their country to be an impartible estate. Ignorance of the above argues a deplorable lack of the perception of the eternal verities of the modern world, with which it is not possible to have any sympathy.—Why it has only recently been decided by the Committee of Nations that even the Celestial Empire is eminently and imminently partible. In view of the above fact, it is ridiculous that even the Celestial Empire is eminently and imminently partible. In view of the above fact, it is ridiculous for the Baboos of bengal to pretend that the integrity of their country must be kept intact. An imperial statesman like Your Excellency cannot possibly countenance such outrageous pretentions, on the part of a law-abiding people. That your petitioners beg leave to submit, that the hon. Mr. Risley never in his anthropological investigations, never hit upon a profounder truth, than when he discovered that the spread of education is the cause of the increase of litigation. Your petitioners were under a fond delusion, that such concealed truths could only stand revealed to the votaries of the divine drug. But now they have to admit in all humility, that inspiration is even more potent than inhalation. That English education creates a penchant for British justice is a proposition which few will care to controvert To put it in the language of Hindu philosophy, one is the counterpart of the other, and without their union, which is brought about by an agency called the Press, the above evils can neither be propagated nor multiply. Your Lordship must be aware, that your petitioners hate education and dread law. Education begets a dynamic state of mind, whereas the ideal of all true lovers of opium is the blissful state of static clam. And it has been the painful experience of your petitioners, that an opium-smoker enters a court of law, only to be transferred therefrom to a cognate institution, where no opium can be procured, and from which no member of their community ever return. For the above reasons, your Excellency's Government has laid your petitioners under a deep debt of gratitude; by devising a scheme whereby the evils of education and litigation

would effectively be brought under the control of personal rule. That your petitioners love both Assam and its people with a love that passed all understanding. It is universally known, that when the fumes of opium mount to the brain, man's thoughts wander 'Kamrup' way, and his imagination clings fondly to that magic land of golden hued damsels, and that it is not in your Lordship, to neglect lands of mist and mysticism, is amply evidenced by the fact of your having sent an esoteric mission to Lhassa, the advent of which, as your petitioners have been credibly in formed by an authentic telepathic message, has sent such a thrill of joy through every fibre of the soul of the Dalai Lama, that he could not help instantly falling into an estatic trance, which, it is expected, will gradually fade off into total Nirvana. So your petitioners hope and believe that your Excellency wil gradually fade off into total Nirvana. So your petitioners hope and believe that your Excellency will treat with deserved contempt the soulless criticisms of those grossly materialistic men, who would foolishly forego this unique opportunity of being bodily transferred to that romantic land of Assam, where "it is always afternoon." That your petitioners cannot deny that there is a time-honoured tradition in this country believed in by all sensible men, not spoiled by education, that Bengalis, when they go to Kamrup, are turned into sheep ; but that, in the opinion of your petitioners, cannot be a sufficient reason for opposing the Government proposal. because it has not been proved, that such tranformation would mean, a loss of Zoological status to the Bengali race. That your Lordship well knows that the people of Assam belong to that family of human beings, known to scientists as the Mongoloid. The Mongol has in him a deep-rooted craving for opium and Buddhism, the two noblest products of the soil of Beha. Now, the Mongoloids can hardly be so false to their origin, as not to be too keenly sensible to the seductive charms of the precious drug ; and for that reason are considered by your petitioners as brothers. One touch of narcotic makes the whole world kin—and moreover, opium is thicker than blood It, therefore, makes their hearts palpitate with joy to find, that the time is fast approaching, when the days of separation will be over, and brother with brother. will be looked in a long and languorous embrace." That the sudden awakening of the geographical consciousness, in the Hon. Mr. Risley, comes at a most opportune moment. That the ethnological signilhcance of the Brahmaputra should have been discovered, on the eve of the discovery of the secret sources of that sacred river by Colonel Younghusband, is a coincidence of such deep import, that it is bound to give food for thought to the most unthinking individual And your petitioners

submit that now the scientific boundary of Assam has been found, so woefully missed by all previous rulers, your Excellency should not allow it to be confused by the ignorant clamour of a prejudiced public. A people, like a country, should be kept within its proper bounds, for it is certain, that progress of a people beyond its natural limits is alcoholic in its tendencies, and as such, is utterly repugnant to your petitioners, who detest all things stimulating as pernicious antidotes. That your petitioners have no desire to further trespass on your Lordship's time, and tire your Lordship's patience by the enumeration of all the innumerable reasons that can be urged in support of the above beneficent scheme. But in conclusion, they make bold to offer a humble suggestion for your Lordship's kind consideration. If the burden of Bengal be too heavy for one provincial Governor, how immeasurably heavier must the burden of India be for one Governor-General. So your petitioners beg respectfully to suggest, that in future, the work of governing India should be divided among three Viceroys. A diplomatic Governor-General for the Himalayas, whose duty would be to watch and regulate the foreign relations of this country, to create complications and to pro-create problems ; and whose field of activity would range from Bhotan to Khotan on one side, and from the Pamirs to the Amur on the other. Secondly, an artistic and literary Viceroy, for the plains, whose duty would be to preserve ancient monuments and build new ones, and administer the country by means of peripatetic oration—occidental in inward worth and oriental in outward beauty. Lastly, a commercial Viceroy for the seas, whose duty would be to constantly fit to and fro between Rangoon and Bunder Abbas, looking after the ports, and controlling exports and imports in the light of the new fiscal policy. According to the Hindu Shastras, even the supreme ruler of the universe found it necessary to divide his personality into three—Shiva, enthroned on the Himalayas, Vishnu, in his incarnations disporting over the length of India, and Brahma, on his lotus, floating eternally on the limitless ocean." *Ibid.*

6.2.1904

PARTITION OF BENGAL

Temperate and sustained effort, by representative bodies all over Bengal, and especially, in East Bengal, will prove to Lord Curzon that, firmly and resolutely, as he may determine to force an obnoxious measure upon this province, arbitrary enactment does not mean successful rule. Individually, he has invited criticism of his acts as an administrator, and if in that role, his government has

been found to be lacking in a spirit of conciliation, it is not for him to find fault with his critics. Nay, contrariwise, it is for him to laud their outspoken objection to his measures, not to cavil at any aggressive form of words—allowable in controversy— that may be employed to assail his policy and to expose its retrograde and revolutionary tendency. In less than a week, he will be amongst us, and although we feel satisfied that his welcome will be warm, even enthusiastic, it will fall far short of that accorded to Lords North Brook and Dufferin, for it will be tinctured with a subdued regret. Human nature is so constituted that, one cannot expect from it an ebullition of joyful emotion under a cloud of depressing sorrow ; and yet, we venture to predicate that, an announcement of a modification of his plans East Bengal wise, such as would satisfy public yearning, would allay a regret that now seeks expression in remonstrance, whilst a declaration that his dismemberment scheme has undergone radical alteration, would secure for him a popularity and a spirit of gratitude never demonstrated to any predecessor. There are foreshadowings that may well engage our Viceroy's attention at head quarters, and cause him to postpone, or to abandon his proposed visit to East Bengal. Russia is seemingly bound to complicate matters on our frontier though obviously, she is unwise to do so at this juncture ; nevertheless, it becomes our Viceroy to place himself in communication with our military authorities, rather than to take though for a pleasure jaunt to East Bengal. He has already wired to our Secretary of State that, according to Colonel Younghusband, Russian arms had already entered Tibet, who relies upon Russia for support, and this was as far back as 13th December last past. Russia's discomfiture at Port Arthur will doubtless still further complicate matters, and our frontier needs to be safe guarded. Already, also, news of a declaration of war by Japan has caused a panic in Rangoon in her rice market, which may extend to Bengal, as we feel confident it will to Madras. Is this a time for our Viceroy to lay himself under obligation to a Bengal zemindar for feasting and merriment? Common prevalence demands that he should be *at work*, and not at *sport* at such a time, and his own sense of responsibility should dictate a course to obviate a public scandal, which his shooting excursion will assuredly, we fear, be likely to bring about. But whether it does or does not, it becomes a State captain to contorl his ship at such a juncture, instead of skylinking scores of miles away from his head quarters. He appears to be entirely oblivious and apathetic as to what is doing, out of range of his immediate scope of observation. If he is really in quest of information, he may have his desire satisfied by consulting some of our leading men in East Bengal,

unconnected, directly or indirectly, with Government interests, and he will then be in a position to ascertain for himself that, all outside these influences are, to a man, vehemently opposed to anything approaching a partition scheme, whether in its original or amended form. Briefly, those of our local and provincial oppositionists personally concerned, have a case that may be stated clearly and briefly-simultaneously with Mr. Risley's letter to our local Government, our divisional Commissioner suggested that, our local men of influence should agitate for Dacca's transfer to Assam, as an entire division, and its absorption, he considered, would result in benefit to all concerned. His suggestion, however, fell flat, as there was and is a strong and uncompromising opposition to partition in any form, and from this attitude people of this and its adjoining districts cannot be moved. An alternative scheme was then proposed with which our Commissioner had not any concern, and this likewise was rejected both here and at Mymensingh. At this stage, let us explain, Mr. Risley's suggested plan was repugnant to all, withour exception, but gradually, a nucleus was formed to accept an alternative scheme, and this was attempted to be forced in a manner at once unconstitutional and unfair. At Mymensingh, we learn, considerable pressure was employed unavailingly, and that agency has had to be abandoned. Here in Dacca, it was different in form and result. A combination was made of Government nominees—principally, members of our Nawab's family—in our District Board and local Municipality, nominally, to accept an alternative scheme, but in reality, to manifest a conflict of feeling, so as to show to Government that a difference of opinion exists upon this question. To make a show of disnterested motive, some elected members—a proportion representing a decided minority—were nominated, to form a sub-committee with these in an address to our Viceroy, in which it was proposed that, should it be inevitable to separate Bengal, an alternative scheme might be adopted, and this proposal, shaped as a resolution, was easily carried, despite opposition and remonstrance, by some members, who, seeing their protestations of no avail, sent in their resignations on Monday last, and we believe, their example is to be followed very soon by others, who will not consent to stultify themselves. To curry such a proposition required some delicate management, and it was not until a decided majority of votes was assured, that it was introduced. Of course, that it has been carried is no proof whatever, that it is acceptable, to even those who have helped to force its acceptance. A casual glance will show what we mean. This subcommittee was composed of nine members, five being both of our Municipality and District Board, two being elected exclusively by that Board.

It was so contrived that, this sub-commitee should be in a position to carry all before it, and, as anticipated, did so. In next issue we will resume. This is a vital crisis ; and we wish Lord Curzon to see that it is not mere sentiment that has excited this agitation.

13. 2. 1904

DISMEMBERMENT SCHEME

Amongst objections offered to a re-distribution, or reconstruction of Bengal, and these have been both numerous and forcible, we have not heard, or read, any superior to those pur forward by Rai Sitannath Roy, Bhadur, as Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce ; and we may, we think, safely add, we have seen but few that will bear favourable comparison with this gentleman's powerful arguments. Starting with a declaration that, all who have noticed the effect of Mr. Ristey's letter upon vast communities in Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong, and, in fact, all over East Bengal, Rai Sitanath Roy, Bhadur, annihilates Mr. Risley's contention in favour of dismemberment by advancing a very simple fact, as regards congested population, by showing, according to census statistics that, a transfer, whilst it may temporarily reduce our Leutenant-Governor's congested charge, in area and population, still, such a remedy can be but of a temporary nature, since every year's increase in population will diminish relief—a fact that is so palpably irrefutable, as to be beyond cavil or question. He then demonstrates that, our Lieutenant-Governor's hasty inspectional visits to these districts at long intervals, because of their distance from headquarters—our Metropolis—need not be regarded any longer as a detriment to facile an effective administration, since communication by rail and steamer has been so accelerated, by such means, as to be shortened to within a few hours, whereas, between Shillong and these districts, communication occupies six days, instead of six hours, as now available between western portions of Dacca and Chittagong, and a maximum of twenty-four hours from their remote limits ; so that Mr. Risley's allegetion that, our Lieutenant-Governor's remote residence from these centres, his long absences from them, and likely mishaps to follow in consequence, such as our Orissa famine of 1866, cannot be said to carry weight, since his inspectional tours are no longer obstructed by distance and inaccessibility. Nadiya. Murshidabad. Rajshahi, Maldah, & Co.—districts not to be interfered with in this project—are even now further beyond reach than some portions of Dacca, which, as railway expansion and inland facilities in communication improve—as there is every reason to believe they will,

annually—our most remote East Bengal districts will be brought nearer in touch, and hence afford increased opoortunity to our Provincial Governor to be much oftener in our midst. It therefore follows that, annexation of these districts with Assam will but multiply, instead of remedying those evils and difficulties, to *remove which,* a transfer is contemplated. And it stands to reason this is a right view, since communication between Calcutta, Faridpur, Mymensingh, Dacca, & Co., is far easier now than it was a score of years ago, and, were Government to aid private effort, in constructing a light railway, we should be within eight hours reach of Calcutta from our sudder station, instead of twenty-four hours, as at present. And that steamer and railway transit has materially helped our Leiutenant-Governors in their tours, is evident from their more numerous visits to these parts of late years. But more than all this, Government leaves it very much to speculation, how administrative drawbacks of Assam, which is an admittedly backward province, can be removed by annexing to it Dacca and Mymensingh. A proper remedy for such defects is clearly not to drag down prosperous districts to inferior supervision, and to ally them with a province of less flurishing condition. What would be said of a physician, who based his hope of successful practice upon his efforts to reduce his patients to a dead level of condition? Assam is not hopelessly bankrupt, merely because she is helped annually by our supreme Goverment to replenish her exchequer, and but for that, she would fail to meet her liabilities. That an alliance with flourshing trade centres like Dacca, Narayanganj, Mymensingh, Chittagong and others will benefit *her* very substantially, cannot be doubted, but how those *auxiliaries* are to improve and receive encouragement towards prosperity, is not manifest. Assam is a province in which local authorities, and those who are ruled, are separated by wide gulfs, and until these are bridged, and free intercourse between rulers and ruled has been established, no hope of successful administration can be entertained upon any rational basis. Why, even in Bengal, a similar disability exists, since there are outlying localities where official tours are unknown, and as a result, their proper supervision is a problem we have left unsolved, from sheer inability to do otherwise, because there are divisions. and districts subordinate to them, absurdly undermanned, and hence badly and inefficiently managed. Annual reports show who they are neglected and have fallen behind, but this really is not always to be attributable to inaptitude, or neglect, not should such a circumstance be understood as a necessary slur upon their local officers, who, with such means as they possess, often strive their utmost to better their surroundings.In such

examples, our wonder is, that results are so good, and far from finding fault, because of patent and inevitable evils, we can but feel surprise at their paucity—proof presumptive that we have to deal with a peaceable and law-abiding people. This latter fact may be further illustrated by a few figures we borrow from our Rai Bahadur's critique, whose very ably written pamphlet is as sound in principle, as it is convincing in fact. Taking 1901 as our census statistical year, we note that a total number of criminal cases instituted in Bengal, aggregated about three and a half hundred of them dacoitees, and two thousand and sixty-eight, rioting, and in an area of two thousand two hundred and eighty square miles and a population of 1,937,646, Faridpur had two thousand one hundred and seventy one cases, twelve dacoity, one hundred and thirty one rioting, in an area of two thousand two hundred and eighty one square miles, and a population of 1,937,646 souls. Backergunge, 3,869 cases, one hundred and nineteen rioting, in 3,645 square miles and with 2,291,752 souls. Tipperah, 1,764 cases, one hundred and nineteen rioting, in 3,645 square miles and with 2,291,752 souls. Tipperah, 1,764 cases, ninety four rioting, in an area of 2,499 miles with 2,117,991 souls. Mymensingh, 7,501 cases, eleven dacoity, seventy eight rioting, in 6,332 square miles, with 3,915,068 souls. Dacca, 2,638 cases, sixty-eight rioting, 2,782 square miles, and 2,649,522 souls. Nadiya, 2,889 cases, sixty-four rioting, 2,793 square miles and 1,667,491 souls. Twenty-four Parganas, 3,704 cases, thirty-two dacoity, sixty rioting, 2,108 square miles, 2,078,359 souls, and Burdwan, 2,655 cases, sixteen dacoity and 2,689 square miles of area, and 1,532,575 souls, Thus, it is seen that, localities adjacent to Calcutta, have a heavier criminal list than these at a distance, and thus seem to point to one fact directly, that if Dacca, Mymensing, & Co., are less accessible than Burdwan and Twenty-four Parganas, they are less criminal, whilst larger in area and denser in population, thus offering a refutation to Mr. Risley's statement that, they suffer in administrative supervision, owing to our Lieutenant-Governor's long and frequent absences from them. In next issue, we hope to show some other inconsistencies quite as patent and demons-trable.

17.2.1904

CAVEAT

Without question, our Viceroy will have to be exceedingly cautious when accepting addresses from people or bodies, in these parts, that he is not misled by pharases and apologies for alternative

schemes of dismembering Bengal. In such as put forward an alternative project to that propounded by Mr. Risley, there will invariably be found a taint of pressure or of self-interest. and with some, we may say many, signatories who are indifferent, by reason of their not belonging to this part of Bengal, to such changes as suggested, are indifferent as to how affected parties may stand. There has been a good deal of unnecessary and improper pressure attempted—if all we hear is rue, which, of course, it can scarcely be, in an unqualified sense—and we hear that, several engines have been set in operation to bring about a suggestion of some scheme that will assimilate, as nearly as may be, to that of Mr. Risley, so as not to be in violent opposition to Lord Curzon's wishes, in an offical, however large-hearted, public-spirited, philanthropic and independent-minded he may be, we must, as a rule, look for sympathy with Lord Curzon, sometimes, as a result of sincere agreement ; in other cases, not quite so, but in all, it does not seem strange that, Government should have its supporters, who profess to see in its measures, a maximum of good to India and her heterogeneous peoples. There will be found, in some instances, suspiciously sudden conversions to State views, but we must not look too closely at motive, which is an effectual lever in every condition and relation of life. Dacca feels that dark days of despair are in store for her, and we know that desperate measures have more than once been suggested for her relief. To Lord Curzon, our viceroy and Vicegerent of Royalty, we should be candid, and tell him openly, that, he may put down half he sees and reads as pure and simple "*eye wash.*"

17 2.1904

TELEGRAM FROM CHITTAGONG

"Referring to transfer question, Viceroy said that in three addresses—of Port Trust, Municipality, District Board, the question was not raised, as he understood their authors were divided in their opinions. The fourth address of Chittagong Association informed their authors were divided in their opinions. The fourth address of Chittagong Association informed him that, the proposal caused alarm and considerable anxiety. He would be called upon in course of the week. to reply more fully at Dacca and Mymensingh, he would not commit himself in any way now, nor decide finally until he received reports of local Governments and other persons

consulted. He further said that, whatever may be the view taken, no good purpose would to served by use of rash and violent remarks. Government of India have to look to the interests and administrative advantages of the country as a whole, and not of this or that area. Controversy should be based on substantial grounds, not on violent declamations. Government will look to balance of advantages and follow those best qualified to advise. Speaking of Chittagong division particularly, Viceroy said that its transfer was nearly being effected seven years ago, but was temporarily postponed as settlement operations were not their complete and A. B. Railway was in same state. He also said that much has been made by the press of the hostile opinion of Sir Henry Cotton expressed in January 1897, when he was only about two months in Assam, after a long Bengal service, and that Sir Henry wrote as a Bengal Civilian and not as an Assam officer, Viceroy added that, the press express no opinion about the opinions of Sir William Ward, who wrote strongly favour of transfer after five years of Assam experience. Referring to the views alleged to have been expressed, by Sir Charles Steevens at an interview, Vicerory said that if reported correctly, Sir Charles must have forgotten that He and Lyall reported strongly in favour of transfer in 1896, but recommended postponement for three years. Messrs., Bourdillen, Fuller, Woodburn and other experienced Bengal officers expressed strongly in favour of transfer. It was absurd to suppose that so many Bengal Officers would have supported the change, if it were not for an advantage, Replying to the people's request for permanent settlement of Noabad talooks, which their predecessors, in their ignorance of Lord Dalhousie's offer of permanent settlement, failed to avail themselves of, his Excellency said that, if the people of Chittagong now refused to accept the advantages of an inproved port and powerful new administration, their successors might come to a successor of his and complain of the shortsightedness of their predecessors and he also said he would not brush aside all objection ; that there are weighty arguments which apply with greater force to Dacca and Mymensings, and some disadvantages, neither of which have been overlooked by Government of India, and he would counsel the Chittagong Association to preserve an open mind. In conclusion, he said he never made such long replies to addresses, but the singular importance of the subjects required a long reply.

17.2.1904

FASCINATING FROTH

Lord Curzon has had his innings, in his reply to our local addresses, and he has, without doubt, carried conviction to some minds that, those who oppose his East Bengal partition scheme, have not a leg to stand upon, as *he* has put their case, and we are quite of that opinion, but unfortunately for Lord Curzon, we accept a picture of a lion painted by himself, with considerable misgiving as to its fidelity of detail. Put as *he* put our Supreme Government's policy, it appeared unexceptionable, nay, more, opposition was made to appear a delusion and a snare ; but that is not a picture accepted by objectionists, as representing their interests, or advocating a single feature of their cause. Lord Curzon was like counsel advocating two conflicting interests, with a caution too marked for disguise that, his own client's case should not suffer. Bengal and her people prefer having their own independent counsel. Like a certain nameless somebody said to quote scripture for his purposes, Lord Curzon has made a desperate effort to turn the tables upon his opponents and has signally—*failed.* This would be a rash statement to advance unsupported by strong and convincing facts, and we are well advised that, after Lord Curzon's splendid display of oratory last Thursday afternoon, it would need something much stronger than mere assertion to establish our proposition. This is only fair. We accept such a challenge in its purest integrity, without quibble or cavil. Oratory, such as we heard at Ahsun Munzil, though very pleasing to one's ear, and agreeable to one's sense of beauty and grace of symbolism and metaphor, is rarely convincing, except to a limited number of *apake jo hookum* admirers, and decidedly, Lord Curzon's personal criticism on Thursday's addresses has fallen lamentably short of our anticipations, as a refutation of what has been advanced by Dacca and Chittagong, and what we are assured will be repeated at Mymensingh, but we think it would be unfair to meet his Lordships contention, as we propose to do next week, in comparative detail, without having his address before us in its completed text. We will content ourself to day, by touching lightly upon some points adduced by his Excellency to prove how silly has been this opposition against his policy. First, let us advert to what he said at Chittagong, as regards Sir Henry Cotton's minute. Mr. Cotton, as he then was, had been only two months Chief-Commissioner, and "unquestionably and inevitably wrote as a Bengal officer and not as an Assam officer," according to Lord Curzon—a statement we do not regard as damaging to any contention *against* dismemberment. Supposing Sir Henry to have founded his minute upon convictions formed in Bengal, is it likely that, after two months'

office in Assam, he would have left it untouched, had anything occurred meanwhile to modify his views? Does it not seem strange that, having given them emphatic expression, he never for one moment, attempted to cancel, or even to alter them, but for five years subsequently to explain away? Surely, he had time enough, opportunity enough, and experience enough, to rectify any error, had he felt there was any misstatement or omission to be remedied or modified. To his last day of office, his minute remained unchallenged, and unchanged, a sure proof that, he had not any wish it should be reframed. Again, we see that, although our Supreme Government was fully aware that Mr. Cotton had framed such a minute, and that he held such opinions as it contained, no attempt was even made to wean him from them, or to point out to him where it was thought he might be in error. His opinions were left in their original integrity, as coming from a provincial administrator of undoubted capacity, with large eventual experience of both provinces. So far, then, as Sir Henry Cotton is concerned, Government can hardly, at this late day, repudiate a deliberate judgment enunciated, let us even admit upon then unstudied circumstances, but we must add, ratified by subsequent experience—whether expressed or implied, makes little difference to Government. So far, then, as Sir Henry Cotton's opinion goes, we may fairly presume that, it continues intact. Then, Lord Curzon seems disposed to repreach editors of papers for an act of omission, which, if premeditated, would be inexcusable. He says :—

"I observe that no one has said a word about the opinion of Sir William Ward, who, only a few months before he left Assam in 1896, after being Chief-Commissioner for five and a half years, wrote a most exhaustive able and reasoned argument in favour of the transfer."

But who is responsible for this? Sir Williams minute was pigonholed, and we believe, to this day, has never been published. Had Government been less reticent, it would, without question, have been reproduced in print and made a subject of close and critical analysis, and it is simply because it has been kept from press criticism that press comment has not appeared. That objection also fails to touch any member of our profession, and may be dismissed as valueless. One remark, however, occurs to us. We may treat Lord Curzon's eulogy on Sir William Ward's minute with every deference, as one commended to *his* judgment,by its tact and talent ; but he must forgive us if we say that, it may not have presented itself in a similar light to others as it did in not fact, to Sir Henry Cotton--a far superior man to Sir William Ward, as to ninetynine percent. of his predecessors. Now as to certain

remarks to which Lord Curzon committed himself at Ahsun Manzil. He impliedly cast ridicule upon all who have appeared to protest against partition, in as much as only an insignificant proportion can be said to be cultured, and of these only about one percent, can be said to understand English. His Lordship could not comprehend of what political worth, opinions coming form persons so ignorant, could possibly be. We feel sure he is mistaken in his facts, but if not, we cannot understand how a Bengalee's knowledge of a foreign and a very difficult tongue, such as English, can affect his natural soundness of judgment. It does not need a knowledge of tongue, such as English, can affect his natural soundness of judgment. It does not need a knowledge of English to grasp a few plain facts, direct and relative. His proficiency in English would not need to be requisitioned, to demonstrate to him that a zemindary may be divided in its jurisdiction, hence probably, in its management, and he might clearly dispense with Shakespeare's or Milton's works or an acquaintance with Algebra, in calculating his law expenditure and his pleaders fees. Is it possible Lord Curzon should hold a conviction that, every man signing a declaration should be acquainted minutely with all his reasons—political, economical, social or otherwise, in minute detail—for so doing? Is he of opinion that, more than a microscopic minority has *ever* been found in *any* great agitation, to exhibit more than a dislike to a contemplated measure—a dislike that is no more than personal, and may be altogether unreasonable in some cases? How many patriots were there capable of defining in political phraseology, and as to their political nature, and texture, why they extorted *Magna Charta*[৭৬] from King John at Runnymeds? In what great political movement in England, In France, in American, in Russia, in Turkey, Italy, or Bulgarin, have we known lenders of party to be otherwise than limited to a very few, who may be enumerated by units? If a knowledge of English or a cultured mind be essential to revolution, to agitation, or to political feeling and bias, then hitherto, mankind has been singularly unfortunate in its political upheavals. And to carry Lord Curzon's arguments to a point at which their fallacy is self-demonstrable, we have but to ask him what percentage he could assign to an army corps, numbering say fifty thousand men, willing to sacrifice their lives, their liberties, their all upon earth, who could define, or dissect political reasons for their taking up arms? They would reply, if asked—"Our country is threatened, hence we are here to fight for her." Precisely similar in intention, would be a Bengalee's reply if, questioned as to *his* attitude in this unhappy agitation. He has a general, it may be, an indefinite idea of his individual grievance, exactly as a

soldier has of *his*, but as a soldier trusts to his general, so Ram Dass trusts to his leader, to meet all political controversy. Lord Curzon's argument was most unhappy, and we consider, unsubstantial. A man may not be a politician, yet have a political grievance, or a political cause to espouse. As an illustration, will his Excellency pardon our reference to his parliamentary candidature for a seat, when he was worsted, and explain to us how many of his electors understood, in a critical political, sense, the value of an election , aye, or could give their reasons for their faith in idiomatic English—*their own mother tongue?* Not much more, we fancy, than a very small percentage Why should more be expected of a Bengalee? We have a more serious matter to discuss in next issue.

20.2.1904

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE

GEORGE N. BARON CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

P. C, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E.,

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.
MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

We, the undersingned Zemindars and Land-holders of Dacca beg leave to approach Your Excellency with this cordial and respectful Address of welcome on this, the occasion of Your Excellency's visit to our ancient and historic city. We recall with pride the fact that two of Your Excellency's illustrious predecessors, Lord Northbrook and Lord Dufferin, honoured this city with a visit ; and we desire to convey to Your Excellency the assurance that Your Excellency's presence awakens in our minds, and we may add of the people at large, those feelings of heartfelt loyalty and enthusiastic gratitude inseparable from an auspicious occasion like this when the august representative of our illustrious Sovereign is in our midst. 2. No section of the Indian community have greater or more solid reasons to be grateful to the British Government than the class we represent ; for the British Government, by conferring upon us the inestimable boon of the Permanant Settlement, have added not only to the prosperity of the land-owning class but have secured the happiness and the lasting prosperity of the people at large. 3. We recall with gratitude the statesmanlike measures of Your Excellency's Government calculated to advance the agricultural resources and to develop the industries of the country by the

establishment of a Government school of agriculture at Pusa and the founding of scholarships for technical instruction in European countries. These measures will enshrine Your Excellency's name in the recollection of a grateful people. 4. But in the midst of these pleasant reminiscences, we feel it our duty to state that many millions of His Imperial Majesty's subjects in these parts of Bengal have been placed in a position of extreme uneasiness and anxiety by the proposals which have been formulated for the separation from Bengal, of our district with some others, thus dividing the bengalee-speaking people and placing us under a non-regulation and admittedly inferior administration. 5. It is the highest privilege and the noblest prerogative of Sovereign authority to dispel anxiety and disseminate among the people the blessings of peace and happiness. And we venture to express—hope that your excellency offer a careful consideration in council of our memorial, which will be submitted in due course will remove all course of our apprehensions, and thus earn the lasting gratitude of many millions of His Imperial Majesty's most devoted and loyal subjects. 6. We hope that Your Excellency's visit to these districts may be associated with the pleasantest recollections, and that the people of these parts may find a place in Your Excellencys sympathetic heart. Our only regret is that it is not permitted to us to have the good fortune and honour of welcoming Lady Curzon along with Your Excellency on this happy and auspicious occasion.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves

Your Excellency's

Most humble and obedient servants

20 2 1904

To

HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE

GEORGE N. BARON CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

P. C., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E.

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the members of the Peoples' Association of Dacca, composed of some of the principal, and, we trust we may say without presumption, some amongst the influential Land-holders of this district, besides representatives of other classes and interests, desire most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with a warm

and heartfelt greeting of welcome to our district and city on this, the third occasion on which Dacca has been graciously honoured by the advent ot a Viceroy of India. As our honoured and highly distinguished guest and representative of Royalty, we would ask Your Excellency to accept our assurance of devoted loyalty to our illustrious Severeign, and of our unfailing attachment to His Throne and Person. The district that Your Excellency is pleased to honour by a temporary visit, dates far back in history, as the seat of Government in Hindu and Mahomedan times, ere yet our present Metropolis had attained to even an initiatory political status. In ancient times, King Adisur established a seat of learning at Vikrampur, which had derived its name at some immemorial period, from the renowned Hindu king, Vikramaditya. The Brahmans and Kayasthas who came from kanouj at the invitation of King Adisur, settling there, formed a kind of Oxford of classical lore, spreading their branches to different parts of Bengal ; but preserving Vikrampur as a shrine of veneration and study, where, to this day renowned Pandits support and instruct numerous students in various Tols to propagate ancient Sanskrit literature. But this is not Dacca's only claim to historical fame, She was known for her fairylike draperies of muslin, the delicacy of whose texture was a theme of wonderment and admiration to the ancient civilzed nations of Europe and Asia. She was no less famous for her delicate and refined works in gold and silver and other manufactures. All those industries are now either extinct or in the last stage of decadence, languishing for want of support, though we believe some of them might still be galvanized into activity The city of Dacca became the seat of Government under Mahomedan rule, some time in the early part of the seventeenth cnetury, and became historically known as Janhangirnagar after the then reigning Mogul Emperor. And under English sway, it has always occupied an important position, having previously been one of the principal centres for collection of revenue, then early judical system, it was the seat of one of the four Provincial Courts of Appeal in these Provinces. It has been connected for several years by Steamer and Railway with the Metropolis, which can ordinarily be reached within twenty-four hours, and from its southern and western boundaries, in less than half that time. There is a proposal afoot for still easier communication by a light Railway, to connect Arecha (opposite Goalundo) with our town, which, if constructed, will bring Calcutta within eight or nine hours communication, and it is estimated that this may be effected at a moderate cost, not exceeding twenty-five lakhs of rupees, and we pray this project may receive the early and favourable consideration and support of

Government as a State Railway. Your Excellency has placed the people of India under a deep debt of gratitude for the interest Your Excellency has been taking in the advancement of its agriculture and the revival of its dying indigenous industries, and for founding scholarships to enable deserving students to obtain technical education in England, Europe and America. Dacca preeminently requires the fostering care of Government for the revival of its once renowned industries, with a well-equipped college or school for imparting technical education ; and with the encouragement of Government, we feel assured that our drooping and impoverished industries will receive a fresh impetus and energy. To the above suggestions, we would add that the condition of our river is such as to cause serious apprehension that its increasing silt may in the near future, impede inland traffic and internal river-brone trade, and may even cause us to suffer from deficiency of pure drinking water. The early attention of Government to this state of the river is earnestly solicited. Though we have avoided in this Address of Welcome any discussion of the proposed scheme of Your Excellency's Government for the transfer of this district along with some others to the administration of Assam, yet we think we should be failing in our duty if we omitted to acquaint Your Excellency while on the spot, with the deep and universal feeling of grave apprehensions the proposal in question has created in the minds of the people of this district. But we have every confidence that the matter, which is of such vital consequence and far-reaching effect, and which will be dealt with in detail in the memorial from the people of this district and submitted in due course, will receive the most careful consideration of Your Excellency in Council. In conclusion, we trust it may be permitted us to give expression to our regret that we are deprived on this happy occasion of the gratification of welcoming Lady Curzon, Your Excellency's amiable and estimable consort.

We remain,
Your Excellency's most obedient
servants,
The members of the Dacca Peoples Association,
Through President.

Dacca,
The 18th Feb,
1904.

20.2.1904

FASCINATING FROTH

Unquestionably, Lord Curzon is a plessing word-painter, and in his utterances, he can round off his periods with an attenuating delicacy, that cancels intention, by its vagueness, imparting colour

and consistency in just proportion to their importance ; and one can sit and listen to his flowing words with an interest that deepens as he proceeds, although, if closely questioned, we must candidly admit that, his graceful pharses convey but scant meaning as a direct result of his premisses, actual or assumed, viewed from any standpoint. In the fervid eloquence of the, hour, we are apt to dismiss from our minds controversial points, and to sit listening, charmed by a display of facsinating oratory that dispels all idea of disputable issues. But, when we come deliberately to weigh words and phrases, and to subject them to a test of application that appeals to unprejudiced reason, we often find that, although there may not appear much that admits of argument, still there is, in reality, a good deal one may not accept as silencing dissent. On Thursday last, Lord Curzon, in his reply to local addresses, assumed much that cannot be said to be deducible from what those addresses contained, and he imported into his discussion of them, points that, it seems to us, might have been omitted with advantage to his keen penetration, and we trust we may without presumption add, to his dignity as a representative of an immense and powerful administrative constitution. He was, for instance, in error when he assumed that, an outburst of schoolboy enthusiasm was indicative of sober and closely-studied protests, emanting from matured intellect, ripened by long experience, that had brought to bear upon this question of dismemberment, deductions resulting from studied reflection and closely-reasoned facts. It was also, we conceive, an unfortunate incident of his controversial analysis that, he should have assumed conclusions to have been arrived at, which are not legitimately inferrable from his reason? Both those considerations will be dealt with in their proper place, with, we trust, tempreate discrimination and a due regard to their relative bearing on what had been submitted and what inferred. For a moment, we may, we hope, be permitted to deal with his Excellency's "knock down-blows," as we have heard them styled. His Lordship in assessing public opinion, as a proof of judicious and successful Government, is reported to have said, and we have no reason to suppose, incorrectly :—

"It is always a pleasure to learn that, the adminstrative or legislative proceedings of the Government meet with the approval of important sections of the community, since, although popular approbation is neither the first nor the last test, either of political expediency, or the public need, yet it is gratifying to learn that, measures intended for the benefit of the community are appreciated by them, and even where that appreciation may be lacking, it will usually be found that Government is acting in obedience to

some higher principle, which may not be universally, or generally recognised at the time, but the justification of which, assuming the principle to be sound, is certain to follow."

If we allow his Excellency to be correct, we must inevitably assume representative government to be based upon a wrong principle, and republican and democratic government to be built upon a hallucination, since, in both these last, especially, popular acceptation of State reforms is made both the primary, and the final test of successful government. More than this. May we not proceed further and say that, as popular appreciation is so grateful and gratifying to our rulers in India, perhaps, they would find it more profitable did they dispense for a time, with that "higher principle," of which the postponed disclosure is so irritating to an obtuse, and, as Lord Curzon would have us believe, illiterate people, illiterate, that is to say, in Dacca, if not elsewhere in Bengal, where such a microscopic minority can be said to understand English, and where popular ignorance is so crass, as to have necessitated an importation of placards from Calcutta? Bengalees are a patient, long suffering people, yet even they, we are sure, would feel gratified by a revelation of that occult principle called by Lord Curzon "higher," that seemingly rules their destinies, and in this question, at any rate, has induced his Excellency to give countenance to a suggested measure of dismemberment, like the "higher principle" actuating him, presumably, that has not yet rendered itself amenable to recognition. In a democracy, no measure of reform intended to recast or to modify existing State enactments, can be introduced, that opposes itself, or finds itself opposed to, the peoples'will and judgment, as enunciated through their representatives and exponents, and even in a government like our own, representatives of different constituencies, by combining forces, have often succeeded in ousting existing cabinets, and reconstructing others, in closer accord with their own political leanings ; in fact, it is popularity that dominates almost all governments, more or less, and essentially, those that pretend to suffrage and constitutional representation. In this country, it may be different, and universal, or even general appreciation—the touchstone of success in all constitutional forms of administration—be backing, and all India be left to wait in patience for an eventual discovery—real or fictitious—of a mistaken conception of popular conviction, a course of mystery and concealment of principle, hereafter to be elucidated, as a manifestation of its own power of self justification. Whether this is Lord Curzon's ideal of good government, or not, we are unable to gather, except from what he has been reported to have said, and his words, if

accurately reproduced, seemingly lay down an uncompromisingly arbitrary theory that, those who govern, alone have any right to originate, frame, and to adopt laws, whilst those who stand upon a lower rung of the human ladder, may not presume to do more than calmly await an issue that shall prove their rulers have decided rightly—or wrongly. This issue may, perhaps, be demonstrated in their own, or in a later generation—a few centuries more or less need make no difference– since Lord Curzon does not fix any limit for its *denouement*. Meanwhile, those who have been, as they feel and believe, victimised, are supposed to suffer a passive martyrdom. Surely, Lord Curzon could not have meant what his words imply. He may not even be aware to what he has committed himself. Briefly, it amounts to this—"My Government is always glad to have its measures approved by important public bodies, and if they are condemned, we console ourselves with the reflection that, popular appreciation is not a test of successful administration"—a spirit of philosophic resignation to circumstance, simple, nor to say touching, in its apathy. His Lordship went on to say that, Bengal *must* be relieved, and, although we cannot follow his peremptory dictum, let us admit its solidity for arguments sake, taking exception, however, to his grounds for denying that, one ruler can suffice for its government. His forced analogy, we feel, is incongrous, and its application, as adopted by him, *mal apropos*. This, with other points, we will consider in our next.

24.2.1904

OUR VICEROY'S REPLY

This morning (20th) his Excellency arrived at Mymensingh, and at noon was presented with a joint address by members of our District Board, Municipal Commissioners, members of Mymensingh Association, and Anjuman Islamia. In replying, our Viceroy said :— "Gentlemen—It is now my agreeable duty to reply to the combined address which has been presented by the leading public bodies and associations of Mymensingh. A warm welcome has been given to me, as the first Governor-General of India who ever visited this place, and complimentary reference has been made to several incidents in the recent administration of the Government of India, for which I will do no more than return you my thanks, seeing that I have already dealt with the same matters in reply to the addresses at Chittagong. Three subjects of local interest have been brought to my notice, and I will briefly refer to each. The first is the extension of railways in the three sub-divisions of this district. This is not a matter about which I can go into deatils, on the

present occasion. Railways are being surveyed for in the directions that you name, and I have little doubt that there will one day be a chain of connection, from the direction of Shillong on the East, to the main stream of the Ganges, or Padma, on the West, but this will not be just yet. Next, you desire to devote the entire proceeds of a local ferry to help to pay for your drainage and waterworks. I am informed that, before you begin to solicit assistance of this description, it would be well if the Municipal Commissioners of Nasirabad made rather more use of the powers already open to them, the local rate of personal taxation being only half of what it is in most other Municipalities in the district, and admitting of enhancement without the least hardship. The third request is the familiar complaint of the Anjuman, that the Mahommedans have not as many appointments as their number would appear to justify. This is qiute true, but it is all a matter of education, and, as long as the Hindus are ahead of you in that respect, they will also out-distance you in the race for employment. The subject however, that is chiefly filling your minds is evidently that of the so-called partition of Bengal, although that is not exactly the phrase that I should employ, and the views that are held on the matter are fairly summed up in a sentence in your address, in which you say that the proposed measure "would subject the people of these districts to manifold evils and disadvantages in matters social, religious, political, and in those connected with the administration of justice, and would deprive them of rights, associations, and privileges which they cherish most dearly." This sentence seems to me to sum up very concisely, all the ideas and alarms that the people of these parts have been told that they ought to entertain about the Government scheme, and I am quite content to take it as a definition of the popular view. Now, I am sure you will agree with me that the first essential in criticising a case, is to understand it, and that it is not only unfair but even foolish to condemn proposals which heve been put forward by a responsible Government, in the interests of the community at large, upon a complete misrepresentation of their character and consequences. Two days ago, at Dacca, I showed that some of the principal fears which have been instilled into the people are wholly illusory ; that they will not, should the scheme be adopted, lose the Board of Revenue, or its equivalent : that there method of making the laws, by which they are governed, and that, as regards a local Legislative Council, if the scheme is somewhat expanded, so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship, instead of a Chief-Commissionership, this privilege also will be retained. Here, at one swoop, disappear three of the principal planks of the platform upon which, the

leaders of the local agitation, which is said to find its chief home in Mymensingh, have taken their stand. I ask you to read my speech at Dacca, and instead of repeating it, I propose to-day to follow up the same line of thought, and to show you how much, or how little of foundation there is, for the other apprehensions that are expressed in the sentence which I have quoted from your address. These alarms may be epitomised in the phrase which has been paraded on flags and streamers before my eyes in many places, since I crossed the forntier of Eastern Bengal. "Save us from Assam." It is impossible to imagine a sentence which more aptly condenses the whole of the misconceptions upon which the attitude of the people rests, and I will, therefore, proceed to analyse it. .. First, I learned that the zemindars have been told that they will lose the permanent settlement. There is, of course, no foundation for any such statement. Secondly, the ryots have heard that they will lose the Bengal Tenancy Act and other remedial legislation of which they now profit by the benefits. This is equally fictitious. Thirdly, the ryots have been led to think that they will be taken away from their fields and made to work as coolies on the tea gardens of Assam, and I have no doubt that a great many of them honestly believe it. It is scarcely necessary to characterise such an invention. Fourthly, I have seen the equally absurd sugges-tion that, the plan is devised, in order to provide billets for the planters, who are to be converted into managers of Court of Wards' Eastates and other desirable posts. Fifthly, the argument has been used that, the advance districts of Bengal will be placed under uncovenanted military officers. It is enough to say in reply that, no such officers have been recruited in Assam for ten years, and that they will, of course, be debarred, as they are in Sylhet, from any post, the tenure of which is at present confined to the Indian Civil Service in Bengal. Sixthly, I see the argument freely employed that, the local cesses of Eastern Bengal will be filched away and devoted to making roads in the jungly parts of distant Assam. This argument is not a very fortunate one ; for, in the first place, the Road Cees is a distinct asset, and cannot be spent any-where else than in the district where it is raised. Furthermore, it led me to inquire how much of the Public Works Cess that comes from this division is spent here, or is taken elsewhere now. And this led to the discovery that, under the present system, the greater part of this cess, the total of which amounts ot about six lakhs per annum, is taken away from the division and is spent in other parts of Bengal, which may include Calcutta, Orissa, or Behar. No one seems to have found this out, or to have thought it at all wrong, for all these years. But now it is represented as a fresh ground of

objection to the new Province ; whereas, if this were created, the funds in question would be likely, for the first time, in their history, to be spent in the main, in the locality where they had been raised. The argument, therefore, recoils upon those who have used it. Seventh, it is said that, in the summer it will be so difficult to obtain access to the head of the Administration at Shillong. Why more difficult than at Darjeeling. I do not see. In a few years time, when the railway connections are established, of which you spoke in your address, it will, of course, be much easier. Moreover, the argument omits to notices that a head of the Government at Dacca, will always be a good deal nearer than the Lieutenant-Governor at Calcutta.

(To be Continued)

24.2.1904

To

THE RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE NATHANIEL

BARON CURZON OF KEDLESTON,

P.C . G.M.S.I., G M I E

VICEROY AND GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

We the member of the Dacca Mohammean community, beg to express to your Excellencey our heartfelt and grateful appreciation of the honour Your Excellency has conferred opon us in personally visiting our city, and on behalf of the Mahommedian community in this Province we beg to offer you a cordial and hearty welcome. 2. We strongly feel in common with all the Indian people the deep obligation under which Your Excellency has laid us by your unwearied efforts since you took charge of the vast Empire to develop its internal resources, to improve its finances, and to ameliorate the condition and promote the prosperity of all classes and races of its inhabitants. 3. We have more particularly to thank Your Excellency on behalf of the Mahommedan community, for the keen interest you have always taken in the preservation of historical relics in India, and especially, for the time and trouble you have devoted to the restoration and preservation of the forts, places and tombs at Agra, Delhi, and other Mahommedan strongholds in which we naturally take so much inerest. 4. We are equally grateful for the efforts your Excellency has kindly made for the protection of Mahommedan pilgrims on their journeys to and from Mecca, as a result of which the plundering and annoyance to which they were

previously subjected, have been to a great extent checked ; but we would venture in this connection, to draw Your Excellency's attention to the difficulties to which intending pilgrims from this country to Arabia are subjected by the Subordinate Officers appointed under the quarantine regulations, difficulties arising from the constant examination which they have to undergo involving, as each examination does, not only harassment and delay but considerable extra expense, and we earnestly hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to take steps to mitigate these hardships which still prevent a large number of our community from making their yearly pilgrimage to the sacred shrine. 5. We would humbly draw Your Excellency's attention to the recent decisions of the High Court and the Privy Council whereby the ancient law of waqf, under which so many Mahommadan properties were held in settlement and preserved in the hands of Matwalis for general benefit of Mahommedan families, has been declared invalid. The result has been that many large and important estates, which had been well and prudently managed for very many years, have now been sub-divided among individual co-sharers ; that the family system, which had in the past so largely contributed to the general prosperity and prestige, is gradually disappearing ; and that the greatest difficulties are experienced in the management of the fractional estates into which the old family properties have been broken up. We would respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be pleased to consider whether the waqf system cannot be restored to us by legislation. 6. We desire respectfully to deal with the subject which is naturally uppermost in the minds of all the inhabitants of this district at the present moment, namely, the recent proposal made by the Government of India to the Government of Bengal for the transfer of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to the province of Assam. 7. We have carefully considersd the proposal and, while we are far from sharing in the recent vehement agitation against it, we desire respectfully to lay before Your Excellency our reasons for submitting that the scheme, as proposed, would be prejudicial to the best interests of the Mahommedans in these districts. 8. We would venture to remind Your Excellency that we are bound by ties of the strongest nature, religious, ethnical and social with the neighbouring and homogeneous districts of Backergunge, Faridpur and Rajshaye ; that the population of these allied districts is mainly Mahommedan ; that if they were separated, numerous land-holders who hold properties in all of them would suffer considerable loss and experience great difficulty in their management ; and that from every point of view whather of property, commerce, trade or

agriculture, their disruption would, as we humbly conceive, be most undesirable. 9. We would further respectfully point out that apart from the strong objections above indicated to the separation of these districts *inter se*, the transfer of any or all of them from their present administration under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in Council to the Province of Assam administered by a single Chief-Commissioner and admittedly backward in every respect, as compared with these districts, would be prejudicial to their advancement and prosperity ; while, on the other hand, if the allied districts could remain under one administration, and a new and large province be created under a Lieutenant-governor, the proposed transfer would not only be free from objection, but in every way, beneficial. 10. We, therefore, humbly and earnestly beg Your Excellency to consider whether if the Government of Bengal, a new province could not be constituted consisting of Assam, Chittagong, and the allied districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Backergunge, Faridpur, Rajshaye, Pabna, Bogra, Dinajpur, and Ranguur, the whole to be under the administration of one Lieutenant-governor, whose head quarters would be at Dacca and summer residence at Shillong. 11. In conclusion we pray that Your Excellency's measures and undertakings may be bleassed by Providence ; that Your Excellency may be granted health and strength to carry them out for the benefit and advancement of India and its peoples ; and humbly offering Your Excellency again our most cordial and loyal welcome.

We have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and obedient servants

24 2 1904

VICEROY'S TOUR

Dacca, the 18th February, 1904

His Excellency replied at length, to the Addresses in the following terms :— Gentlemen,—Permit me to thank you for the four Addresses which have just been read. They are unanimous in offering me a welcome to this ancient and historic city, and they allude with satisfaction to many aspects of the recent policy of the Government of India. It is always a pleasure to learn that the adminstrative or legislative proceedings of the Government meet with the approval of important sections of the community. Although popular approbation is neither the first nor the last test either of political expediency or the public need, yet it is gratfying to learn that measures intended for the benefit of the community

are appreciated by them, and even where that appreciation may be lacking, it will usually be found that Government is acting in obedience to some higher principle which may not be universally or generally recognised at the time, but the justification of which, assuming the principle to be sound, is certain to follow. The district Board and Municipality have also congratulated me on my extension of office, an extension which has no other value or importance to me than that of touring it, if I amy be permitted to do so, to the public advantage, while two of the addresses contain a regretful allusion to the absence of Lady Curzon, which cannot be deplored by your as much as it is by myself. My opinion has been sought on three subjects of minor importance, to which I will briefly advert. Mention is made of the desirability of a railway to a point opposite Goalundo, so as to facilitate communication with Calcutta, and the aid of the Supreme Government is invoked. The line would doubtles be of great local advantage, and I have little doubt that, sooner or later, it will come ; but I find that it would be vary expensive, especially, if a bridge were required across the river Dhalaswari, which has a very broad and shifting channel, and while there are other and more urgent calls upon the Government purse, it must wait. Next, a complaint has been made of the increasing silt in the river here, which is said to impede internal traffic. I find that the matter has been investigated and written about at intervals for thirty years. It appears that less water does now enter the river than formerly, but there is still an ample depth during the rains, which is the busy season for trade, and at other times of the year, the place of the river has really been taken by the Railway to Naraimganj, which takes down your produce to the point of export. In any case, nothing could be done without elaborate preliminary surveys and great subsequent expense, while the science of river training is one that contains so many speculative and surprising elements, that Governments are a little shy about spending large sums upon results. So I can assure you, form my own experience, that it is easy to pour a good many lakhs into a river-bed, and at the end, the river, without even thanking you for your trouble, makes you look rather ridiculous by going off in some entirely independent direction. The third request is that the Government of India will legislate for the restoration of the old Mahomedan system of *wakfs*, which was broken down by decisions of the High Court and the Privy Council some years ago. I am afraid that I can give no such undertaking. Though we are in general sympathy with any measure that will keep landed properties intact and perpetuate old familes Government could not properly undertake to legislate in such a case as this, particularly, as the

Mussulman community is divided on the subject, and the majority of it are believed to be storngly opposed to the proceeding by legislation at all. This, Gentlemen, exhausts the list of the subsidiary topics to which you have called my attention, and I now turn to the more momentous subject of the proposed territorial changes in these parts of Bengal, which is so greatly agitating the public mind. In the first place, let me say that this seems to me to be a matter on which local communities, or representative bodies, are entitled to express their opinions, and that addresses would not be worth receiving if the subjects on which the public were thinking more strongly than any other were excluded from them, simply on the ground that the public view happened not to be in complete accord with that of the Government. It is always possible to couch such allusions in a respectful and noncontentious form, and I have never found any refusal or reluctance on the part of a local body to do so. Indeed, since I have been in India, I have never been disposed to treat addresses as a mere ceremonial compliment offered to the Viceroy as the reprensentative of the Sovereign. I have always regarded them rather as an opportunity of presenting, within reasonable limits, the views of the community to the Head of the Government, whom they do not, in the nature of things, see very often, and it is in that spirit that I have always replied to them with perfect frankness, as I shall do on the present occasion. First, let me clear the air a little. I said in my speech at Chittagong three days ago, that I had not come to these parts, in order to announce the final and indisputable decision of Government, for the best of reasons, namely, that we are not yet in possession of the material upon which alone such a decision can be based. I have come rather to ascertain from enquiry the trend of local opinion, although, as a matter of fact, my visit to Dacca was promised a year ago, before the question had come up at all, and also, to give you certain explanations about the point of view of the Government which, owing to the fact that their proposals have been put forward in a necessarily-condensed fashion in a single official letter dealing with questions of vast complexity covering an immense range, has inevitably been left in some obscurity, and has given rise to misconceptions or alarms which, in a large number of cases, it should not be difficult to dispel I propose to act upon this plan both here and in my answer to addresses at Mymensingh, and, perhaps, if the people at both places will do me the favour of reading both replies the second of which will be consecutive to the first, they will possess a clearer conception of what it is that the Government have in view, and of the possible methods of attaining it than they have yet been in a position to form. There are

certain preliminary considerations which govern the whole case, but which, owing to the natural tendency of each community or area to regard the proposed in the manner in which it will directly affect itself, and to the absence of the wider knowledge which the Government of India can alone possess, have been almost entirely ignored. The first of these is the imperative necessity of finding a remedy for the present situation. It is beyond dispute that Bengal must be relieved. No one Government administration can possibly devote to nearly 80 millions of people the personal supervision, care, and control which are the objects for which Local Governments exist. The interests of the people must suffer and they do suffer. Those of you who are only familiar with your own area may not know it, but we whose duty it is to keep an eye upon the whole of India and to compare the standards in the respective administrations know it. For years, I may add also, that it has been known to, and acknowledged by, almost every recent Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. No other Local Government in India administers much more than half the number of people that there are in Bengal, and there is nothing in the circumstances of Bengal which renders government easier or an exception more defensible here ; on the contrary, the reverse is, if anything, the case. Now it is no answer to say that, as one Viceroy supervises 300 millions, one Lieutenant-Governor can perfectly well govern 80 millions, for there is not the remotest analogy between the work or the duties of the two. You might as well say that, because there is one Commander-in-Chief for the 220,000 in the Indian Army, it is unnecessary to fix any numericall limit for the minor separation into divisions or brigades. Do not let us argue the point in such a transparently fallacious manner. No argument, indeed, can possibly get over the fact that the charge is too heavy, and those who are pleading most strongly for the essential unity of the Bengal nation (as they call it) and the cruelty and hardship of ever sundering it, do not see that they are doing the worst possible service to their cause, for they compel us to look ahead to a time when the numbers must have swollen by the laws of nature to a figure which would produce a complete administrative breakdown, and when the partition, which they now decry, will be forced upon Bengal in circumstances of infinitely greater pain and hardship than any that are now in contemplation. But, even if you have followed me thus far, there will be many who will fall back upon two classes of argument, to which I next turn. The first is, what I may call the selfish argument. If thing or anybody must be served, at least, let it be comeone else. Sever Behar, sever Orissa, sever Chota Nagpur—but leave us alone. Perhaps it does not occur to you that they may be

saying the same thing about you, and indeed, it would not be surprising, for we all of us naturally look at these matters through our own spectacles, and we are going to profit by it. It is only those who can, impartially survey the claims and interests of all and weigh them against each other, who are in a position to decide where the balance of advantage lies. On the present occasion, I need not do more than say that, even were the whole of these districts, which you are so anxious to submit to the fate that you deprecate for yourselves cut off, we should have gone no distance at all towards solving the problem ; for whereas, one of the chief factors in the present situation is the existence of what you describe as the small and backward province of Assam on the forntiers of Bengal, we should merely reproduce this feature instead of removing it, and should surround Bengal by a fringe of petty provinces administered by borrowed officers and presenting most of the anomalies that are so freely denounced in the case of Assam. The second argument is of a different character, but equally admits of reply. It is said that, instead of splitting up Bengal, why not leave it alone and assist the Lieutenant-Governor by an Executive Council, as exists in Madras and Bombay? Now, I wonder how many persons there are among those who use this argument who have the least conception how that system works, or who have ever studied it in operation! In the first place, the system has been specially devised for two provinces, where the Governor is almost invariably a stranger, brought out from England, who requires a body of local experts to guide him, and even there, as anyone who knows the inner history of India could tell you, it has been far from a smooth or perfect machine. Moreover it is applied in Madras, to a population of only 38 millions and in Bombay to one of 18.5 millions. Sir John Lawrence[৭৪], who knew India as well as any Englishman whoever served in this country, said, after 40 years of Indian experience, that the most efficient governments that he had ever known were those of Lieutenant-Governors, or Heads of Administrations, withouts Council, and that when such men as Sir Thomas Munro[৭৫], Sir John Malcolm and Lord Elphinstone[৭৬] had attained success with Executive Councils in Madras or Bombay, it had only been achieved by them in despite, and not in consequence, of those conditions. The Government of India have most carefully considered this matter, and they could not, with any due regard to the future interests of the people of Bengal, recommend such a mode of government for this province. In their opinion, the Government of a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council would be a Government of divided, and, therefore diminished, responsibility, and at any rate, in the case, as often happens of a

Lieutenant-Governor brought from the outside and finding himself confronted with a Council of a superior number. A Government should be able to overrule subjects of the perpetual scope for discussion, should be unable to overrule them, his government is one of impotance and standstill I would further add that an Executive Council in Bengal could only, in my opinion, lead to further centralization and secretariat government, which are the very evils that we desire to avoid. I pray you. therefore, to dismiss from your minds, as in the least degree likely under present conditions, the idea of an Executive Council for Bengal. It is my firm conviction that I could not bequeath this provinces a worse boon than that which has been thus inncently suggested. Gentlemen, I hope that I have now carried you to the point of realising firstly, that the case for the relief of Bengal is overwhelming ; secondly, that Bengal cannot be relieved by snipping of outside fragments; thirdly, that it cannot be left as it is with an Executive Council thrown in as a palliative.

(To be Continued)

24 2.1904

FASCINATING FROTH

No doubt, it is a difficult task, sometimes, to act upon given prescriptions recommended to others, and it is easier to follow advice in theory, than in practice, though even that is not always within compassable limits. Lord Curzon's reply to addresses at Mymensingh, illurstrates this weakness of human nature. His Lordship's words, as reported, were :—

"Now I am sure you will agree with me, that the first essential in criticising a case, is to understand it, and that it is not only unfair, but even foolish to condemn proposals which have been put forward by a responsible Government, in the interests of the community at large, upon a complete misapprehension of their character and consequences."

Nothing can be fair, and accepting his dictum as irrefutable, nay, binding upon a critic's conscience, we would ask his Excellency if he has followed this principle in his so-called refutation of what has been urged against Mr. Risley's universally-repudiated scheme of partitioning East Bengal. Has *he*, in short, understood his case in all its bearings, or has he exponed it with lucidity? If he *has* understood it, we are at a loss to account for some of his utterances, which are altogether beyond, and opposed to, his facts. if he has not, those utterances must be accepted at

their intrinsic value, which we need not denominate. Let us examine a few of his salient charges against objectors, while repeating what we have already openly declared, that our analysis is purely disinterested, in so far as that, a reconstruction of East Bengal, and an amalgamation of a portion of it with Assam, would necessarily result in substantial benefit to ourself, personally—an allegation we challenge anybody to refute. And now, to Lord Curzon's reply. His Lordship is reported to have said :—

"Two days ago, at Dacca, I showed that some of the principal fears which have been instilled into the people are wholly illusory ; that they will not, should the scheme be adopted, lose the Board of Revenue, or its equivalent ; that there will be no change in the laws, or the method of making the laws, by which they are governed, and that, as regards a Legislative Council, if the scheme is somewhat expanded, so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenuant-Governorship, instead of a Chief-Commissionership, this privilege also will be retained."

Let us, we hope, with due and becoming deference, point out that, if his Lordship really believes he has caused any person of intelligence in these parts to realise that, any well though-out objection to East Bengal's dismemberment is wholly, or evn partially illusory, it would be well to disabuse his mind of such an impression His words have created but one feeling upon this point, and that is, that his Lordship is himself a victim to hallucinations conjured up by too-confident a reliance upon his own powers of persuasion. In no single case has he made a convert, and his attempt to fasten upon others the paternity of certain alarmist apprehensions, of which he has spoken, has ended in a complete and unmitigated failure. He is self deluded, and it is only kind to demonstrate him clearly, since he appears still to be under a strange fascination of intangible theories, all tending to infer that people in Dacca, and East Bengal, generally, have been victimised by certain wire-pullers in Calcutta, and persuaded to accept for Gospel, a parcel of fairy tales, without any foundation, in fact, even of the flimsiest description. We may inform his Lordship that, he is himself misled ; that people in East Bengal are not quite such *gobemouches*, as he supposes them, and by no means so impressionable as they have apperared, according to his Lordship's account. To enumerate all, or even most of his Lordship's errors, would occupy many issues of our paper, and much more of our time than we can conveniently spare. We will touch upon only a very few to-day, and others later. What Lord Curzon is reported to have said at Mymensingh, is proof positive of his misconception--apart from its vagueness. We have been told that, there will be "no change in the laws," or in their method of

formulation, but he appears to have quite overlooked *one* fact, that to legislate for Assam under two sets of laws, suitable to regulation and non-regulation requirements, will be so difficult and need such complicated machinery, that, to avoid mistakes will be *impossible*—supposing our contention to confine itself to revenue matters—whilst even with such a remedy as he hints at—an *equivalent* for our Board of Revenue— whatever that may mean—one tribunal at least, will be lost to East Bengal, that of our Lieutenant-Governor who is now a landowner's final Court of appeal in these provinces, and without it, presumably, arbitrament will be referred to that "higher" occult principle whose excelence is at present so often hidden from the vulgar comprehension, effectually concealing itself from universal, or even general, observation, and lending itself to discovery at some remote pariod, and under limitations apparently beyond even Lord Curzon's fertile imagination to fix. In these circumstances, we fear people in East Bengal are even more dense than his Lordship supposes, and freely admit their inability to follow him is his arguments, dealing with possibilities to which he has failed to assign form, or a limit of time for their advent. We may here quote one of Lord Curzon's accusations against East Bengal, His Lordship is reported to have said that, his eye lighted upon many flings and streamers, after crossing our frontier of East Bengal, bearing this phrase—"Save us from Assam!" and his commentary thereon is :—

"It is impossible to imagine a sentence which more aptly condenses the whole of the misconceptions upon which the attitude of the people rests, and I will therefore, proceed to analyse it."

His Lordship, carried away by a too-sanguine impulse, has promised much more than he has been able to fulfil. Let us admit that, this sentence, or invocation, *does* epitomise fears and apprehensions that have found vent in this, amongst other and better forms of expression—what then? His Excellency admits that there is a scheme afoot for transferring a portion, and a good portion of Bengal to Assam, and popular—not educated and enlightened—terror, has, in its hopelessness, assumed a form of prayer at which he sneers. Wherein lies any *misconception?* Ignorant people having heard that a cultivated centre like Dacca is to be amalgamated with an impoverished and backward province like Assam, their prayer is "Save us from Assam," that is, "save us from results we fear will follow our bodily transfer to that unblessed region." We do not, after a close scrutiny, perceive wherein any misconception is discoverable, and if it were, a man of Lord Curzon's wide perception should find no difficulty in differentiating between a

frenzied popular cry, uttered in circumstances of suggested danger, by, as he admits, schoolboys, and a temperately reasoned out representation, showing where real danger lurks, and what measures Government would find best adapted to avert it. We are forced to admit that, Lord Curzon, in his replies to local adresses here, and at Mymensingh, altogether failed to carry out his programme in any single respect, not did he appear to understand his own brief, which was full of vague possiblities only, that nobody could accept as assurances of any valid and substantial purpose.

27. 2. 1904

OUR VICEROY'S REPLY

(Continued from last instant)

Eighth. it has said that the new province will be run by Assam officers who will know nothing of Bengal revenue or land tenures. Well, as a matter of fact. Assam is run by Bengal officers as it is. It is sufficient however, to reply that at the start, the staff will be, and must be, entirely drawn from Bengal and that later on, the new Province, possessing as it would, a Commission of its own recruited from England, would be administered by exactly the same class of officers and on the scale of pay as Bengal is now. Ninth, I have actually seen it said that the money of Dacca and Mymensingh is to be taken to provide pay and pension for the Civil Servants in Assam. Of course, this is a mere fabrication. I have now taken the nine most popular versions of the argument that Bengal is about to be sacrificed to Assam, and have shown that in each case, they are without any foundation. If the defence be attempted that these arguments are not seriously employed, I can only reply that I have myself seen them all in print, in papers or pamphlets that are in circulation among the people. They are just the sort of agrument that is being used to decieve the ignorant and credulous classes, and it has semed necessary, therefore, to expose them, so that the outside public may form an idea of the methods by which the agitation is being pursued. Your address spoke also of educational losses as resulting from the change. If I thought for a moment that this would be the result, I should hesitate greatly in recommending it. Here, again, it is rather difficult to gather what is signified by a mere generalisation, for when it is said that Calcutta is the centre of light and leading in which all educated Bengal naturally turns, the answer is that, of course, it will continue to be so in the future; and that parents, if they choose, will send their sons there as before. I have ascertained, however, that this apprehension takes two definite shapes. The first is that

Bengal colleges might in future, turn away students from an outside province in order to keep the preference for local men. The second is that boys from a new province would not be eligible for scholarships reserved for Bengalis. The third is that the new province would only attract mediocrites to its educational service. In reply to these fears, I may say at once that the Government of India would undertake that no injustice or loss of advantage should ensue, and that one province did not profit to the detriment of another. As regards the Educational Service of the new province, it will be recruited in precisely the same way, and will be as good as any other. If, however, we are to regard the question of partition from the educational standpoint, then I must say frankly that it seems to me that Dacca and Mymensingh have not only nothing to lose, but almost everything to gain by the change. The ideal of educational advancement is the multiplication of centres of tuition and learning, so that boys and young men may be well taught in reasonable proximity to their homes. It cannot be doubted that, if a new province were created, there would be an immense development of local institutions, and that this would be a source of untold benefit to the people. Everyone knows that under the present system, the Dacca College has been starved ; the Professors have been few and under-paid, progress has languished. I hope that a fresh start is being made their, as I said in a ceremony in which I took part yesterday ; but in a new province that experiment will have an even greater prospect of success. It appears to me, therefore, that one of the main advantages of the suggested change will be the great impulse that it must give to education. I have not here or at Dacca said anything about the jurisdiction of the High Court, because it is not proposed to remove the new province from it. To this, I observe, it is replied that there is no guarantee that may not some day be done. No more, I may answer, is there now. The jurisdiction of the High Court is quite as likely to be affected by the congestion of its own business as it is by any administrative re-arrangement. There is one source of local objection to which I may allude in passing. The hostility to the proposal is said to be largly formented by the people of Bikrampur, who supply a number of very admirable subordinate native officers to the Government offices at Calcutta, and who think that they might lose the field. I suppose I might answer that the fate of provinces can hardly be decided by the interests of small individual classes within them. But I prefer to point out that the excellent Bikrampur men who are found, I am told, as far as Shillong, on the East, and Behar, on the west, are not at all likely to lose the openings which they have won by their abilities, and that as good native officials are a

continual necessity in this country, so where thev are produced, they may rely upon continual employment. There remain the considerations which you describe as social, religious, and linguistic. How anybody's religion can be affected by administrative rearrangements, I do not readily grasp, nor have I found any explanation in the papers that I have studied. The social objection I understand to be that some difficulty may be experienced in respect of marriages between persons of the same caste and the fear that Eastern Bengalis may not be able to marry their daughters in the more restricted area of a new province. I should hesitate to pronounce on such a subject myself, though I should have thought that in a province with a Bengali population of the size that is contemplated such a difficulty would have been inappreciable ; but I am assured by those who are familiar with these matters that there is no validity in the objection at all. The relaxation of caste restrictions, admitting of marriages between different parts of Bengal, is itself the result of increased communications, which produce greater intercourse and render social fusion easier, and if this be so, then, as the institution of a new province must inevitably be followed by a still further improvement in communications, the movement is likely to be, if anything, in the opposite direction from that which is feared. As regards the loss of language, this is a criticism which I have sought, without success, to understand. Why a Bengali should cease to speak Bengali because a Chief-Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor came to reside at Dacca, or why, as I said at Dacca, $14.5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Bengalis should abandon their own tongue, because they enter into partner-ship with $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Assamese, I cannot see ; nor has anyone succeeded in explaining it to opposite direction, and to suggest that Assames, whether it be a dialect of bengali, or whether it be a separate language, as to which the experts appear to differ, will be the one to disappear.

(To be continued)

27.2.1904

OUR VICEROYS REPLY

(Concluded from last issue)

Finally, I come to the sentimental objection, which is based upon the conception of nationality, and which expresses dismay at the partition of what is called the Bengali nation. I found the streets at Dacca placarded with mottoes expressly sent for the purpose from Calcutta ; containing the words "Pray do not sever Bengalis." As the people of Dacca do not, with very few exceptions, understand English, I am affraid that they did not fully comprehend what the

placards meant that they had been instructed to put up. This morning, also, upon my arrival here, I saw crowds of men holding up placards also sent from Calcutta, and also written in English, with the inscription "Do not divide us." I should like, therefore, for a moment to discuss this question. Pray do not think that I wish to disparage in the smallest degree, the force of sentiment in human affairs, and still less that particular form of sentiment that springs from the pride of race. On the contrary, it has spurred mankind to some of the noblest and purest deeds, and the man who is not attached to his country and his race is not fit to exist at all. There is no reason why Bengalis should entertain this sentiment one whit less warmly than any other people. But I cannot see how the argument applies in the present case. If a Scotchman crosses the Tweed and comes into England, he does not cease to be a Scotchman. If a Sikh comes to Bengal, he does not cease to be a Sikh. But here the case is not even one of crossing a border. For, far from a single Bengali being taken away from his present place, or town, or district, or division, he would remain there precisely as before, with the sole difference that the Bengal people, instead of being the predominant element in one local administration, would in future, become the predominant element in two. We offer to the Bengal nation the opportunity of forming a second unit round a second centre, and if a reduplication of its political existence is to be regarded as injurious to its future, Bengal nationality must, I think, be very distrustful of its own powers. It is curious that among the appeals that heve been addressed to me, frequent allusion is made to the fact that Eastern Bengal once constituted an independent Kingdom, the people of which, I believe stil call themselves Bengals and not Bengalis, and yet when the offer is made of a resurrection of that unit, the objection is raised that history and nationality are both being flouted and ignored. Gentlemen, I have now, I hope, said enough to show you that the majority and, indeed, I think the whole of the fears which you have been instructed by the suggested change,but on thè contrary, that Eastern Bengal would acquire a status and a prestige greatly in excess of any that it can at present claim. Several thousands of good people were brought in here to demonstrate a few weeks ago. I have little doubt that every one of them had been told that something dreadful was going to happen to him, and yet, if this so-called partition were carried out to-morrow, I do not believe that there is a single man among them to whom it would make the smallest difference, except for good in his daily life. I should like before sitting down to bring the matter rather more closely home to you, by indicating a further respect in which the change, not

merely would benefit,but is indeed essential to yourselves. You profess to be thoroughly of Bengal. This is a discovery which, it appears to me, as a careful student of your papers, that you have only quite recently made, and yet, under that administrations, the whole of the Mymensingh District, with a population of close upon 4 millions of persons, has been left with a single British Executive officer, the Collector of this place. Orissa contains approximately, the same number of inhabitants in British territory ; but Orissa possesses one commissioner, three Collectors and other officers in proportion. The Chittagong Division is only a little more populous and is equipped on the same scale as Orissa. Do you mean to tell me that this is a satiafactory state of affairs? Do you suppose it would have been tolerated for all these years, had you possessed a local Government at Dacca instead of in remote Calcutta and Darjeeling? Is it not a commonplace that the officers in Eastern Bengal are so undermanned and so overworked that it is the object of nearly every one among them to get away as soon as possible to some lighter and more agreeable charge? The same applies to the judicial and the subordinate executive services. Even if you do not realise the consequence of this state of things, and there cannot help being loose and insufficient administration, the Government is bound to do so, and we cannot acquiesce in the continuance of conditions so prejudicial to good government and to all progress. But I do not believe that the people in these parts as soon as they understand the facts, will allow themselves to be misled or will fail to see where their real interests lie. In this speech, and in that which I delivered on Thursday at Dacca, which I again beg the leaders of local opinion here to peruse, I have dealt frankly with every aspect of the case as I have gathered it from a careful study of the publications of those who are opposing the change. If I have anywhere failed to understand if I have misstated their arguments, it certainly has not been from intention. I submit that the entire case is altered by the statements that I have made on behalf of the Goverment of India, after full consultation with my collesgues ; and that if our proposals are still to be resisted, it must be on some other grounds than those which I have shown to be sometimes ignorant and often unjust. We shall, of course, attentively consider any representations that are made to us, but do not let the public put into our mouths what have never said or into our minds what has never entered them. Let it be remembered by all parties that the true and only criterion is better government for you in your own areas, for Bengal, as a province, and therefore, as a consequence, for British India, as a whole.

27.2.1904

VICEROY'S TOUR

(continued from last issue)

I now pass to the manner in which these propositions affect yourselves. One of your Addresses speaks of the universal feeling of apprehension that has been aroused by our proposals and an effort has been made to impress me at each stage of my journey with the degree to which the public feeling has been quite stirred. Gentlemen, I am quite willing to concede the utmost range that is consistent with the facts to the existence of the feeling, and I really am not surprised that it should have been aroused when I read the extraordinary tales with which the public have been frightened, and about which I sall have something to say later on ; but when you ask me to believe that the feeling is universal, I am unable to follow you. In the first place, how many of the poor people, the ryots, the shopkeepers, the petty traders know what our proposals are, or have ever been informed of the reasoning upon which they are based? I find that, in the Dacca and Mymensingh districts alone, out of an adult male population of 1,870,000, there are only 225,000, or 12 percent, who can either speak, read, or write any language at all, and only 1 percent who understand English. What do the remainder know except that they have been told that an unfeeling and despotic Government is going to deprive them of their rights and liberties, and that it is their duty to attend public meetings and pass resolutions of protest? If you have any doubts on this matter, I am in a position to remove them, for I have had placed in my hands a copy of the instructions issued by the Mymensingh Association, a body which has been actively bestirring itself in getting up the agitation in this part of the country and which is, as I know to be, in close connection with more important organizations in Calcutta. I need do no more than read to you a few extracts from this document : "all of you should, within a week, gather together to hold a large meeting and in it express your views. Specimens are given below of the resolutions that should be adopted, and of the letters that should be sent to different places. The language may be altered as desired. A petition is to be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. It is necessary that it should be signed by more than a lakh of people. After the meeting, telegrams should be sent on the very day to the Calcutta newspapers." Then follows a series of forms of the resolutions to be sent, and the names of the newspapers, with instructions to proceed as economically as possible. The paper goes on to say : "You may slightly modify the specimens of telegrams and resolutions given above, keeping their substance intact. Such modifica-

tions are indeed to be described. In the case of telegrams in particular, you should try your best to do this. Memorials may be written in English or Bengali, those from the villages ought to be written in Bengali. You should soon collect subscriptions and send them in. It is quite impossible, to carry on an agitation without money ; the people in Mymensingh have not been able fully to realise the danger that they may be in. All classes of people in Dacca, lettered or unlettered, have become well nigh mad." Now, Gentlemen, I have not read out these extracts with the idea of passing any censure upon them, for it is no news to any of us to learn how agitations are engineered, but simply to confute the claim that the masses of the people are profoundly or universally stirred. If they were, it would not be necessary to adopt such tactics to rally them, and if these tactics have been found necessary, then their, authors must not be surprised it the Government do not attach so much importance to their demonstrations as they themselves would wish. For my own part, I earnestly deprecate the attempt that is being made to seduce the ignorant cultivators and townspeople into an agitation, which, I venture to say, that not one in a thousand of them in the least degree understands or, if he does at all undestaud it, only does so upon a perverted and misleading representation of what has been actually proposed. Do not imagine, however, even if I show the agitation to be a hollow and unreal one, in so far as it is supposed to emanate from the masses, that therefore, I doubt for a moment, that the feelings of which I am speaking are generally entertained by many educated and thoughtful men. On the contrary, I believe this to be emphatically the case, and I think I know also quite well why they entertain them and upon what they rest. It is to this class, therefore, that I now turn with a few words as to the nature of the beliefs upon which they are acting. I shall not, I think, be far wrong if I say that almost the whole of the suspicion or opposition rests upon two apprehensions. The first is that a part of bengal is about to be handed over to a backward and inefficient administration ; the second is that the people are going to be deprived of valuable rights and privileges which they at present enjoy. The first of these impressions is reflected in one of your Addresses, which describes the Government's proposal as one "to make our prosperous and enlightened district the appanage of a backward province," and I have seen the same sort of idea reproduced in much cruder form in pamphlets circulated among the people, from which one might imagine that Assam was an abode of outer darkness, inhabited by nothing but Planters and tea-garden coolies and savage hillmen, who speaks strange languages, are sunk in

ignorance and superstition, and require to be governed by primitive methods, and that the enlightened districts of Eastern Bengal were about to be handed over in perpetual boundage to these sons of Ishmael. I have even seem in the papers or addresses the phrase that your are about to be ceded or annexed to Assam. Again, I wonder how many of the people who affect this sort of language have even travelled one mile in Assam, or have any idea of its administration or people. For my own part, I have seen both, and I have observed, within a few hours journey of this very place, Bengal people living contentedly in Sylhet and Cachar, under the Assam Administration, quite unconscious that they were the appanage of a backward province, or that they had been ceded or annexed to anyone at all, I have also spoken to Bengal officers, who have served both in Assam and Bengal, and who have told me that the Administration is brought much nearer home to the people in Assam than in Eastern Bengal ; but even supposing that the fears were well grounded, does it not argue the most extraordinary lack of self-confidence to urge that these enlightened districts, priding themselves as they do on their culture, their education, and their advancement, and counting millions of people, are going to be annexed by a province, which is like an infant to them in respect of development and stature?

(To be continued)

27.2.1904

POSSIBILITIES IN PARTITION

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—I notice in Lord Curzon's allusions to Dacca's future, there is a vagueness of expression such as, "a proposal is put forward which would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital," & Co., & Co. But why *possibly* ; why not *positively?* Lord Curzon has talked much and talked well : but what has he said that we have not known before? His dubious generalities, his possibilities and speculations do not rest upon a solid basis, or a guaranty that anything will be done for our benefit, how, when, or in what direction, although we are told a great deal may be.

24th Feb., 1904

Yours faithfully,
SCEPTIC.

27.21904

MYMENSINGH

At Mymensingh, his Excellency was sumptuously entertained last Saturday, at Alexandra Castle. Nothing was lacking to welcome him, and he enjoyed himself thoroughly. Maharaja Surja Kantha,[৭৭] being a Kulin Brahman, knows how entertain right royally.

27.2.1904

VICEREGAL VISIT

Lord Curzon left Dacca by 22-27 train on 19th instant, arriving at Mymensingh at 5-15 on 20th. When we say that his Excellency was the guest of His Highness Maharajah Surja Kanta Achariya, it will be understood that neither expense nor trouble was spared to accord his illustrious visitor a right royal welcome. Lord Curzon left Mymensingh that afternoon, and arrived at Joydebpur, at 19-27 where he was hospitably entertained by our E. B. State Railway, which was represented by Messre. Kiernender and Jordan. Covers were laid for twelve in Joydebpur waiting-roem ; which was elegantly decorated and transformed into a fitting reception room for their honored guest. Brilliantly illuminated and adorned with the choicest flowers procurable, we have no hesitation in saying that, this entertainment was a marked and gratifying success. Leaving Joydebpur at 20-27, the Viceregal party arrived at Narayanganj, at 21-59, proceeding on board the *Rhotas* enroute for Barisal When leaving, his Excellency expressed his appreciation of the efforts made for his comfort while travelling on our line of railway. So complete were all arrangements, and each minute detail so carefully studied that a royal road to travel was achieved.

27.2.1904

OUR COMMISSIONER'S LUNCH

Amidst artistic decorations indicative of studied elegance and refined taste, what struck our Viceroy most at our Commissioner's entertainment was the atmosphere it breathed as a combination of all that lent attraction to a united family circle, reflecting the best traditions of a happy English home. European countries—apart from England, France, for example—may be said to have in rare instances, an equivalent for HOME. A family mansion, outside England is often found to be a place for rest and refreshment, but generally lacking the essentials of a home ; and it was this feature that presented to our Viceroy a phenomenon he had nowhere witnessed in India. He felt he was in a home, under a roof that

reflected all a home should be, all that it is, in its choicest capabilities in an English family. It seemed as if this institution had been transplanted from scences familiar to those expatriated, an exotic nurtured in all its fresh, simple beauty, to a land that knows it not, in its indigenous significance. Can we wonder that he was charmed by his surroundings, and that he will carry back with him from Dacca a picture that will live in his memory? He was must gratified by his reception in Dacca, all through, and most of all by this verfied portraiture of un English family home, with all its fascinating surroundings and endearments.

27.2.1904

LORD CURZON'S VISIT

Three Viceroys have visited Dacca within our recollection, but on no former occasion, has this venerable city appeared to such advantage and been decorated so completely, and with such taste as it was on last Thursday, 18th instant......

27 2.1904

VICEROYS TOUR

(Concluded from last issue)

Gentlemen, the population of the entire area in Bengal, which it has been proposed to transfer, amounts to $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people. The entire population of Assam is only 6 millions, as it is, and of these nearly 3 millions are Bengalis already. Do you mean to tell me that these $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions of Bengalis, representing, as you tell me, the flower of the race, are going to be absorbed, obliterated and destroyed, because is proposed to amalgamate ... which it is possible to conceive. If I were an Assamese, I would understand his saying that he dreaded being annexed and swamped by Bengal ; but why Bengal should say that it is about to be swallowed up by Assam, I am wholly at a loss to imagine. It is a part of the same unreasoning fear that is responsible for the argument that the Bengalis will cease to be Bengalis and become Assamese, or that they will cease ot speak the Bengali language. Gentlemen, as I travelled in the Railway train yesterday, I saw batches of well organised school-boys, holding up placards on which was written "Don't turn us into Assamese." Surely I need, not point out to an intelligent audience that no administrative re-arrangement can possible turn one people into another, or make $14\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people speak any language but their own, and really, the alarm that I am describing seems almost too childish to deserve notice, were

it not that I have found them to be seriously stated and apparently genuinely entertained. Let me put befoe you for a moment, another aspect of the case. Much use has been made in this controversy of history and of all that it is supposed to teach. I also, in a small way, am a student of history, and if it has taught me anything of these parts, the lesson has been that, under the present system of administration, Dacca, which was once the capital of Bengal, has steadily declined in numbers and influence and that not until the Jute trade was introduced some thirty years ago, did it begin to revive. In 1800, Dacca was a city of 200,000 people ; in 1878, it had sunk to 69,000. Since then, it has risen owing to the circumstances that I have mentioned, to 98,000 in the last census but whereas, the increase was 10,000 between 1876 and 1886, it has only been 14,000 in the ensuing 20 years. Will anyone here pretend that even after this advance, Dacca is anythings but a shadow of its former self. Is it not notorious that for years, it has been lameanting its downfall as compared with the past? When then a proposal is put forward which would make Dacca the centre and possibly, the Capital of a new and selfsufficing administration, which must give to the people of these districts, by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture, the preponderating vioce in the province so created, which would invest the Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and kings, which must develop local interests and trade to a degree that is impossible so long as you remain, to use your own words, the appendage of another administration, and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us once attached to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal. Can it be that the people of these districts are to be advised by their leaders to sacrifice all these great and incontestable advantages from fear of being tied on to the tail of the humble and backward Assam? Is it not transparent, Gentlemen, that you must be the head and heart of any such new organism instead of the extremities, and do you really mean to be so blind to your own future as to repudiate the offer? That these considerations have been apparent to many of your number, is evident from the suggestion which finds a place in two of the addresses, namely, that if some re-arrangement of existing conditions is invitable, you would urge the constitution of a lieutenant Governorship with a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue, under which, the people of this part of Bengal would retain all the rights and privileges to which they attach so much weight I need not pause to discuss what proportion of the leading persons of Dacca, or of the population at large, select these senti-

ments. I merely regard the suggest in its merits. The Mahomedans in their Address have gone further, for they say explicitly that they do not share in the recent vehment agitation, and they definitely recommend the constitution of a new province, where districts and boundaries they proceed to name. Now Gentlemen it would at the present state, because it has never yet been placed officially, and I have no knowledge whether it will be so placed before the Government of India, nor have I heard fully expounded or declared the arguments by which it may be supported. I will merely observe to-day that many of the objectors to the present scheme have themselves furnished the strongest reasons for a more ambitious one by insisting that the relief which we proposed to give to Bengal will be swallowed up in a few more censuses, and that the evil which we desire to redress will then be as bad as before. Further, if we find upon examination, that the other territorial re-arrangements which were proposed in our original scheme and which relate to Orissa and Chota Nagpur, call for any modification, and if such modification leaves Bengal much as it is, or does not substantially reduce its administrative burden, then it is clear that the case for a larger re-adjustment in the East of Bengal will be greatly enhanced. I must admit, too, that there are certain objections taken, not without considerable plausibility, to the present more restricted scheme, form which the larger one would be exempt. I think therefore, that such a scheme, if put forward, will be deserving of attentive consideration. Now, as regards the objections that are entertained to the present proposal. I said just now that some were plausible. Further, I think that some are reasonable. I have not time this afternoon to examine all these objections, though I propose to continue the task in my reply at Mymensingh, which I dare say that you will be good enough to read. In continuation of this I will here deal only with three, which are among the most popular, the first of these is plausible but fallacious ; the second is reasonable ; the third is entirely mistaken. The first objection is as follows: — It is apprehended that if a new province is formed, the people will lose the Board of Revenue in which they place great reliance as the final Court of Appeal in Revenue matters. Now the Board, in revenue cases, does not sit as a Board. Ever since Sir George Campbell's day, one member has taken the revenue cases, and it is before him that the cases come and that counsel plead. I cannot see therefore, that there is much difference between this officer sitting as a Board, whereas, he is really an individual, and a Chief-Commissioner sitting and hearing counsel. as the present Chief Commissioner of Assam does, except the Chief Commissioner has many other duties

to perform and that when he is not a Bengal officer, he may not, to start with, possess a full acquaintance with the revenue system of Bengal. However, it is unnecessary to pursue this point, because whether a chief-Commissionership or a Lieutenant-Governorship be created, I think that he should certainly have a Financial or Revenue Commissioner, as already exists in other provinces, who will play exactly the same part as is now filled in Bengal by the Revenue member of the Board. This objection therefore has no foundation. The second objection is that the people of this part of Bengal would lose their representation, such as it is, in the local legislative Council, their power of asking questions and making speeches there and of discussing the legislation affecting the Province that is passed in Writer's Buildings at Calcutta. It should, of course, be remembered that this representation is only enjoyed by the District Boards once in every eight years and by the Municipalities, once in ten years. But I understand the answer to this point to be that though it is quite true, yet local interests, if not directly represented by local members, are fairly represented by the provincial members, general, who take an interest in each other's districts ; while, if the further point be made that the new province, though not endowed with a local Legislative Council, would probably possess the higher distinction of representiion in the Imperial Legislative Council. I learn that the answer to this is made that highly as that distinction would no doubt be esteemed, representation on a local Council is of even greater practical moment. I think that there is some force in these objections, though not as great force as appears to believed by those who have raised them. It is to be observed, however, that they would disappear entirely if instead of being placed under a Chief-Commissioner, the new province were held to be entitled to a Lieutenant-Governor, an appointment which would naturally carry with it the creation of a Legislative Council. The third objection on which I find that great stress has been laid, is the fear that the transferred districts will become scheduled districts, for which the Governor-General in Council can legislate by regulation, and that the Chief-Commissioner will substitute the laws, at present in force in certain parts of Assam, for the laws in force in Eastern Bengal. I may say at once, that there is not a word of truth in this apprehension that areas that have hitherto been dealt with by legislation in the Imperial Legislative Council will continue to be so treated ; and the extraordinary suggestion that has found expression in so many quarters of a sort of conspiracy for the issue of regulations between the Vicerory and the Chief-Commissioner is purely fanciful. I may go further and say that there is no advantage

of law, Government or administration which these districts at present enjoy, of which there is any desire to deprive them, and that the whole of the argument to the contrary upon which this agitation has in the main been built up, is without basis or justification. Indeed, the truth is in the other direction, for it cannot be disputed that the nearer the administration is brought to the people, and that would be the first and most immediate result of the projected change, the greater would be the regard for their interests that they could claim and the closer the protection that they would enjoy. I must now, gentlemen, bring these remarks to a close. The further branches of the subject I will pursue at Mymensingh. I have, at any rate, I hope said enough to convince you that the proposals of Government are a very different thing from what has been widely represented, and that they have been seriously put forward, not with the object of injuring the people of any district or division or class of the community, but rather with the idea of promoting their security and development in the future. I am sure that you will give as much attention to what I have said as I have done to the views and criticisms of other parties, and I am confident that you will join with me in desiring that the solution should depend not upon ignorant agitation or unworthy prejudice, but upon a careful and dispassionate scrutiny of the real merits of the case.

2 3 1904

PROTEST MEETING

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—A meeting of Vikrampor People's Association was held at Munshiganj on 1st instant, to consider the question of the proposed partition of East Bengal, and certain resolutions that will speak for themselves, were proposed and carried unanimously, thus :— I. That after a careful stydy of the speeches delivered by his Excellency, the Viceroy, at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh, and having heard all that has yet been urged in favour of the proposed partition severance, this Association is still of opinion that, if the proposed transfer, or the modified scheme be carried out, it will prove disastrous to the best and highest interests of this country, and a death blow to the social, moral, intellectual and material progress of the people. II. That the following gentlemen be appointed delegates to represent Vikrampor at the next townhall meeting to be held in Calcutta, on 18th instant : — Messrs Lal Mohan Ghosh, Kumud Nath Sen Gupta, Mr. S.R. Das, Mr. C R. Das, Mr. B. W Chatterji (Barristers-at-law.) Raja Sitanath Roy Bhadur,

Baboos Busanta Kumar Bose, Kritanta Cumar Bose, Akhoy Kumar Banerji, Hem Chandra Sen, Rasick Chandra Chakravarti, Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, Ratneswor Sen ; Shailendra Chandra Benerji, Belash Chandra Roy, Zemindar, Paresh Nath Banerji, Teacher, Kaliprasunna Bose, Zemindar, Jogendra Chandra Mukerji, (Pleader), Rai Mohan Ghosh Mooktear, Munshi Khabirullah, Munshi Abdul Gani.

Munshigunj, 3rd March 1904.

Yours faithfully,
PARESH NATH BANERJI

9.3.1904

MEMORIAL

No person of an analytical turn of mind, can peruse, with care and reflection, Lord Curzon's replies to addresses presented to him at Chittagong, Dacca and Mymonsingh without admiring his Lordship's skill as an orator, or finding it hard or restrain a sense of appreciation of his neatly and elegantly-turned periods ; whilst he cannot but be struck by their contradictory statements. These we have shown in a variety of instances, and as we continue our task, instances crowd upon us. Turning from them for a moment, we wish to direct attention to an ably and lucidly-drawn memorial submitted to our Lieutenant-Governor by "the inbabitants of the district of Dacca"— a document full of sound sense and solid conclusions that appear to us unanswerable. Passing over its introductory statements, we come upon allegations that we consider it difficult, if possible, to peruse calmly, without a strong conviction of their tenability. Mr. Risley, in his letter of 3rd December last past, declared that, relief to our Lieutenant Governor of Bengal :—

"Can be afforded, not, as has been suggested on sevaral previous occasions, by organic changes in the form of government, but only by actual transference of territory."

He has not attempted to support his position by a single fact, or theory, and here our memorialists first join issue, taking for their base his Lordship's emphatic declaration of a necessity for relieving our Lieutenant-Governor of his administrative burdens, a fact conceded for argument's sake—not admitted. Now, it does not appear to be conclusive that, such relief is imperatively necessary ; but supposing it to be so, what objection can be possible, to giving our local Government an executive Council a plan to which his Excellency is so resolutely opposed? By this means, our local

Government must inevitably be freed from much detail work that would then be entrusted to departmental supervision, and such a division of labour is too practically usefull, too patently so, to admit of objection. In most, if not in all civilized communities, it is recognized as a wholesome and requisite system, and whether we term it a Council or a Committee of Management, this identical principle is found in all corporate bodies, public or private, official or non-official, where municipal regulation is enforced, or regular and business society, that labour should be classified and co-operative, and this very form of administration has had existence in this country since 1792, by statutory enactment, when George III was King, and Bengal, Behar and Orissa were vested as to their government, including civil and military, in a Governor-General with a Council consisting of three Councillors ; and a similar system was observed as regards Madras and Bombay, our Governor-General of India having a controlling power in our we stern and southern Presidencies. Statutes 21 and 22 Vic. C. 106 provide for a Council for our Secretary of State for India and under Sec. XX, that functionary is authorized to divide his Council into committees, for convenience in transacting business, and these and other committees exemplified their value in a variety of ways, closer supervision over those districts that would till remain to him, nor could he devote a stricter personal attention to administrative details than he now does, or visit his charge districts oftener. And allowing Bengal's administration to be reduced in point of population, to sixty-seven millions, or even to half that number—and divisional Commissioners to number seven, instead of nine, they could still, on an average, have nearly ten millions if souls a piece under their charge, a change that vill scarcely lighten their labours, or their responsibility, to any appreciable extent. As regards a "want of touch" alleged to exist between government officials and those over whom they are placed, it seems clear that Dacca has not been neglected. She has thrice received viceregal visits, and has, during each Lieutenant-Governor's incumbency, been visited not less than once, oftener twice, and has had even a third visit whilst Metropolitan districts have been uninspected by some incumbents of Belvedere. It must also be borne in mind that, Commissioners' and Collectors' visits are fairly frequent. So this allegation of want of touch, is, as it will be clearly seen, untenable, Then, as to Mr. Risley's letter, and territorial reconstruction ; in neither case could a scheme be formulated, either to shorten his Honour's work, as ruler of Bengal, or to retain to our Indian subjects their hitherto enjoyed rights and privileges. They will in no wise benefit, not, indeed, will anyone, as far as we can see. We read :-–

"That in the humble opinion of our Memorialists, all that is necessary for a good and effective administration is, that the head of the government should have time to exercise a general supervision over efficiently-governed districts and revenue divisions, and he may be helped in this work by an executive council, as suggested above."

We are quite of this opinion. And we read further, with warm approval, after it has been pointed out that, a separate Lieutenant-Governorship, with a Council such as now exists in Bengal, whilst it would, to a certain extent, secure to this province her rights and immunities it would also be far more costly than an Executive Council :—

"That one of the most serious objections to the scheme propounded in Mr. Secretary Risley's letter, is that in the event of this district being placed under a Commissioner, it ... and would be reduced to the status of a non-regulation territory. The people of it would have no opportunity for, or voice in, the discussion of their local laws, which will be passed by the Governor-General and his executive Council, and with the local legislature. The people would also lose the important rights of interpellation and discussion of the provincial budget."

This is an argument of grave and vital importance' seeing that these rights that have existed for some years and that still exist, were conferred by Parliamentary enactment, and that Lord Curzon, when Under Secretary of State in 1892, in introducing our India Councils Bill, spoke thus :—

"The bill is intended to widen the basis and expand the functions of the Government of India ; to give further opportunities than at present exist to the non-official and native elements of Indian society to take part in the work of Government, and in this way, to take official recognition of the remarkable development, both in political interest and political capacity, which has been visible among all classes of indian society since the Government was taken over by the Crown."

Apparently, then, Lord Curzon, in advocating an extended co-operation in governing India by members of our Indian communities, felt, as Under-Secretary, that Executive Councils had become desirable as auxiliaries, and that our Government of India was much assisted by Indian councillors, who might bring their experience and knowledge to bear upon questions that we, as aliens and foreigners, might not feel we would readily grasp ; and every man with an atom of practical knowledge of India and of her requirements will uphold that view. How comes it, then, that Lord

Curzon, after an experience of over five years in India, can set himself in opposition to a principle he has repeatedly told us is a boon to legislation? Has he discovered since he has been at work with his own Council, how unnecessary it is to have one ; or does his objection extend to Bengal alone? One would have thought he must, to be consistent, have welcomed any scheme possessing such elements of strength as a well-seasoned Council of Indian experts, but there is no accounting for caprice. However, whatever attitude Lord Curzon may assume, Sir Andrew Fraser will surely agree that, he would be at a discount without his advisers.

9.3.1904

LORD CURZON DISCOUNTED

Without question of portunity vigourously and tactfully pursued, has often proved a turning-point in a public career. Lord Curzon has had his in this country, and has failed in this partition business. Men of undoubted political capacity, gifted with unusual eloquence feel confident that, powerful appeals to human passion to personal interest, if pleasantly and persuasively set forth, often over-ride calm reflection and inductive reason. Not doubt, Lord Curzon conscious of his gift came to East Bengal with a full determination returning to Calcutta in truimph, having won his laurels against prospects unfavourable to succes as they must have appeared to everyone acquainted with East Bengal and to its people. Apparently, Lord Curzon's acquaintance with this province, and its, inhabitants, could hardly have been very exclusive, upon his own showing. Why, then, and to whom did he come? These questions are of paramount importance in their relation to his advent, and yet they do not appear to have suggested themselves to His Excellency in any very tangible form, since he never attempted to face them in any semblance to a spirit of conciliation. He said he had undertaken his journey, with a view to explain away certain fears, that seemingly troubled people here abouts, but had not any real foundation infact More than this, he told us that, he had not any faith in an agitation created by wirepullers ; ... it was difficult to convince rational men that, most public meetings, with their addenda, had not been organised upon a spurious theory of Bengal's dismemberment, which amounted to spoliation of her right and privileges. In homely phraseology, his Lord ship might have expressed his sentiments thus... "Oh! you insensates. You have not a grievance, your wire-pullers are well aware that... You have have been deluded by people in Calcutta fancy that you are to be forced out of your home steads, driven like dumb cattle to the

wilds of Assam and there set to work as coolies on tea plantations ; that Government intends to strip you of your religion, of your *locus standi*, as his Britannic, Majesty's Indian subjects, of your educational advantages, of your all, in fact, and you, like so many imbeciles, have worked yourselves up into a ferment, crying out for mercy, and bewailing your hard lot. I tell you as your *ma bap*, that your supposed misfortunes are spectres, conjured up to frighten you into an unseemly rebellion against a Government that seeks nothing less than your welfare, here and hereafter." In substance, this is what his Lordship said, but like some other very clever people, he quite forgot that, his every step and his every argument bearing upon dismemberment, was a stultification. His attitude and his acts, interpreted by his words, meant not a whit more or less than—"I have come ostensibly to clam your fears, which I, shall prove to demonstration do not exist, since your's is but a mock agitation, having neither backbone nor substance. I am about to exhaust my splendid powers of oratory amongst and upon you, but to no avail, since you can muster only one percent of those who understand English, and to such good purpose shall I speak to you, as to demonstrate that you are not even equal to composing short English sentences for placards. Even for these you have to depend upon your chiefs in Calcutta. Yet, knowing that this agitation has a merely superficial glitter to recommend it, and conscious of its hollow structure, I have come amongst you, as if it were all real, merely to persuade you to be good children, and not to indulge in childish, wayward demonstration, in peevishness and petulance." If, then, we sum up on this basis, we shall find that Lord Curzon came to Dacca to stamp out a fire, knowing there was no conflagration to tackle, and he prepared himself to address, in his most ornate and winning periods, people too hopelessly ignorant, in ninety-nine percent. of cases, to command a sufficient knowledge of English to put together short sentences in that tongue, such as, "Pray do not separate Bengaless," "Do not sever Bengal." "Save us from Assam," whilst as to "God save the King," "Long live Lord Curzon," & Co, he was prudently reticent. Put into a nutshell, His Excellency's doings and sayings do not amount to more than this. He has drawn upon India's money to frank him on his travels. He visited East Bengal to soothe and demolish an agitation that existed only in name, and his efforts were directed in a language that ninety-nine percent of Bangalees do not understand ; hence, he could not have effected any object, since there was not any to effect. It seems to us then, that a conclusion is forced upon us that, from first to last, His Excellencny's visit here was a mere parody in which he posed as principal actor. And this we write without any

strain of fancy, or exaggeration of colouring. It is not *our* portraiture, but *his*, our's being a mere replica of his original. To say that, his Lordship was not aware of what awaited him, will not serve any effective purpose, since he told us here that, he had studied this Eastern question in all its bearings, and it was because of his mastery of it, he had concluded that, what some styled an agitation, had no real existence, As a proof, His Excelency quoted certain communications, probably, telegrams and others, that had, by chance, or its converse, fallen into his hands, such as :—

"All of you should, within a week gather together to hold a large meeting and in it express your views. Specimens are given below of the resolutions that should be adopted and of the letters that should be sent to different places. The language may be altered as desired. A petition is to be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. it is necessary that it should be signed by more than a lakh of people. After the meeting, telegrams should be sent on the very day to the Calcutta newspapers."

And other quotations follow, testifying, we are bound to admit, that this agitation, at which Lord Curzon sneers and girds, has all along had real, not artificial. existence. We are, however, prepared to accept either version, to refute his Lordship, and to show how his very visit has stultified his reply. If Bengal raised a false cry of "Wolf!" why did Lord Curzon come here, knowing it to be false? If true, why did he come and declare to his hearers that it was false? It cannot be both. But we regret to see our Viceroy descend to such petty shifts to try and prove his case. He knows what political agitation means at home, and he knows—nobody better—that there is scarcely any situation in life in which that old adage is not in requisition, "All's fair, in love and war"—so that, even had recourse been had to strategy, as to this agitation in respect to East Bengal, it could scarcely, from a political standpoint, be condemned. But there was not, according to Lord Curzon's own showing ; hence, to sneer at telegrams, letters, and "documents" coming from people too illiterate to word a few placards in English, appears to be somewhat short of magnanimous, seeing they have not attained to so lofty an eminence of political sagacity, at which alone they can hope to grasp that "higher" principle of administration—by which our rulers are swayed. Has Lord Curzon, in the heat and bustle of an electioneering contest, at home, ever sent, or received an urgent wire message ; and would he consent that it should be regarded as his ablest and most successfull effort at literary composition? Would he agree that his reputation should be tested by any and every utterance of his, in expectancy of an fierce conflict of parties, in which, even half a dozen votes might

influence lifelong results? These poor people in Bengal are not on the hustings, they are not trained statesmen, contending for political pre-eminence, but anxious and scared at a prospect approaching nearer daily, that antagonistic party influence should agin an ascendancy. They are fighting for their very existence, as integrals of humanity. Of course, we shall be told this is absurd humanity. Of course, we shall be told this is absurd ; that no such fear can assail any intelligent resident of Bengal, and that, it cannot have reality. But why not, amengst people so benighted, as to be incapable of wording even a tiny placard in English ; why not, if, amongst a centre of educational activity, only one percent, can be found to count amongst cultured folk? Let his Lordship reply to these queries. It is he who charges East Bengal with this ignorance—not we. Calmly analysing his utterances, we are unable to regard them as anything short of self contradictory, though we have heard it said they annihilated opposition and established his position as unanswerable.

9.3.1904

EDUCATIONAL

To us who have heard with interest and even admiration, some passages contained in Lord Curzon's reply to addresses presented to him in Dacca, and have read what he uttered at Mymensingh, as a sequel to his arguments here, it seems that his Lordship scarcely deigns to look at a controversy all round. Take for instance, his allusion to East Bengal losing her educational advantages by his partition scheme. After remarking that :—"The ideal of educational advancement is the multiplication of centres of tuition and learning, so that boys and young men may be well taught, in reasonable proximity to their homes," he goes on that, if a new province were created, there would be an immense development of educational institutions, and this would be "a source of benefit to the people." True, to all those who choose to avail themselves of these new institutions, but how about Dacca and Mymenshingh? Let us see. His Lordship said : "Everyone knows that, under the present system, the Dacca College has bean starved, the Professors have been few and underpaid, and progress has languished." And his Lordship concluded : "It seems to me therefore that, one of the main advantages of the suggested change will be the great impulse that it must give to education". quite so but how will Dacca fare? If at present, education here is starved through an insufficiency of underpaid Professors, will it benefit when Dacca is merged in a province dependent upon Imperial help for defraying its own cost of administration? In its present, far from insolvent

circumstances, Dacca cannot, or does not support more than an inadequate and—as it is urged—meagrely-remunerated educational staff. What will she do when her resources have to be spread over a wider area, and when her few scholarships will be competed for by a much larger number of candidates? Besides, why should it be made possible for onsiders to poach upon her preserves? It is surely not fair to her that, allotments assigned to her exclusive benefit, should be spread over a wider surface, and be shared by a much larger number of competitors, whithout any claim upon these not over-extravagant loaves and fishes. Upon equitable grounds, we think this is wrong in principle and indefensible in practice. We have answered his Lordship very briefly to-day. Perhaps, we shall soon be in a position to reply to his statements at greater length. Our main principle will hold good at any time. Since lord Curzon is cornered in his contentions, there is not a chance of escape for her from his attitude which in his own making.

9.3.1904

LORD CURZON AND PARTITION

In reply to the addresses presented to the Viceroy at Chittagong, His Excelency made a weighty pronouncement which will be read with great interest and attention throughout the country. up till now, the Vicerory had not spoken on the partition of Bengal. Mr. Risley's circular letter was the note of the Government. But Lord Curzon towers high above the Government of India. He is a part of the Government, but he holds the Government in the hollow of his hand and shapes and moulds it after his own fashion. In the reply to the adresses presented to him at Chittagong, His Excellency has given the public the assurance that "until the Government of India has received the opinion of the Local Government and of its officers," it will "not be in a position to make up its mind finally on the subject." We are therefore, entitled to believe that Lord Curzon still keeps an open mind on this, the great question of the day. This is indeed a gratifying pieces of news, but His Excellency does not leave us in the dark as to the trend of his opinion on the subject. He combats the opinion of Sir Henry Cotton and proceeds to point out that Sir Charles Stevens, who has now condemned the transfer, at one time, held a different view, and, when a member of the Board of Revenue, gave official support to the proposal. It will suffice to say with regard to the attitude of Sir Charles Stevens, that his later view must be accepted by the public as it must be held to be the more mature ; and what is more, his argnments

derive their weight, not so much by their association with his name, as by their own intrinsic worth. Is it possible to assail his position, when he points out that Chittagong, exposed as it is to periodic cyclonic visitations, attended with serious loss of a province? Again, when he says that no appreciable relief will be afforded to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal when he has to govern 66 millions instead of 77, can anyone doubt the soundness of his position? Further, His Excellency overlooked the fact that Sir Charles Stevens' objection had reference to the inclusion of Chota Nagpur in the Central Provinces—a proposition which had not been placed before Sir Charles Stevens when he was a member of the Board of Revenue, and which indeed had not been thought of before this revolutionary age. Nor will it avail His Excelency to seek to belittle Sir Henry Cotton's Note by suggesting that he had only been a short time Chief Commissioner of Bengal when he wrote his Minute and that his views are opposed to those of his predecessor, Sir William Ward and of his successor, Mr. Fuller[৭১], and indeed to those of a Bengal officer like Sir James Bourdillon. Sir Henry Cotton's objections are based upon grounds which cannot be refuted. When he says that the land-revenue system in Chittagong is exceedingly complicated, and that the future. Chief-Commissioners of Assam and the people of Chittagong will rue the day when the Division will be transferred to Assam, the warning is based upon unimpeachable facts and has about it the ring of statesmanlike prescience. Again, When he says that the people and the administration will suffer by the abolition of the Board of Revenue, does he not take up a position which cannot be challenged? His Excellency has not a word to say about the opinion of the High Court, but he relies upon the views of officers, such as Sir William Ward, Mr. Fuller and others. Why does not the Government publish the whole of the papers in connection with the transfer, and let us judge for ourselves as to the strength of the Government case. Why is all this hesitation to take the people into confidence, a hesitation which, we may add, is inexplicable in the case of a Vicerory like Lord Curzon, who is always so ready to appeal to the public verdict in justification of his measures? The only inference which the reticence of the Government suggests is that the publication of the papers will expose the utter and indefensible weakness of the Government. There is one observation in the speech of His Excellency which, we must say, is not calculated to reassure the public mind. Public sentiment, ancient and cherished associations, the strongest social, ethnological and linguistic ties are apparently to be sacrificed in view of "administrative advantages." The shibboleth of "Administrative advantage"

is, we fear, to be the dominating keynote of the Government policy in this matter. "The Question," is, we fear, to be the dominating keynote of the Government policy in this matter. "The question," we are told, "is one of balance of advantage." "advantage to whom," we ask? Are the interests, the feelings and sentiments of millions of His Majesty's Indian subjects to be sacrificed for the sake of "The advantage" of our rulers or of the service to which they belong? *Ibid.*

12.3.1904

LORD CURZON DISCUOUNTED

If a student of comparatively modern history were to turn his thoughts back to our English constitution, in particular, and to other European constitutional forms of Government, in general, in order to compare them with Lord Curzon's severe condemnation of an Executive Council for Bengal, after his partition project—should it develop to fruition—is to take effect, as suggested, he would discover much food for amazement and reflection. Lord Curzons's repugnant aversion to a Council took a strange form, in his Dacca reply to adresses read to him, tantamount almost to an expression of a belief that, an executive Council constituted to assist adminstration, is little short of a disastrous failure ; we charge this to him, since he quoted Sir John Lawrence in support of this view, thus :—

"Sir John Lawrence, who knew India as well as any Englishman who ever served in this country said, after forty years of Indian experience, that the most efficient governments that he had ever known were those of Lieutenant-Governors, or heads of administrations without a Council, and that when such men as Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm and Lord Elphinstone had attained success with Executive Councils, in Madras or Bombay, it had only been achieved by them in despite, and not in consequence of, those conditions."

So then, to draw an inference from these utterances of our Vicerory, supposing Sir John Lawrence ever said what is imputed to him, we are forced to conclude that, in his judgment an executive Council is rather a hindrance, than an aid, to facile administration. What Sir John Lawrence may have been in our N. W. Provinces, is perhaps not provocative of cavil, but what he was as Governor-General, we all know, seeing he never enunciated an original idea, whilst holding his high office. And again, Lord Curzon told us that, this government (in Council?) after having given this

matter its most careful attention, had arrived at a certain conclusion :—

"In their opinion, the government of a Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council would be a government of divided, and therefore weakened, authority, of diffused, and therefore, diminished, responsibility, and at any rate, in the case as often happens, of a Lieutenant-Governor brought from outside and finding himself confronted with a Council of a superior number ... should he be unable to overrule them, one of impotence and standstill."

And his Lordship opined that he could not bequeath to his successor and to this province, a worse legacy than that "which has been thus innocently suggested." Now, taking Lord Curzon's contention at its own valuation, we find that his disapproval of an executive Council extends to regarding it as so much of an obstruction that, successful government can be achieved only in spite of its existence, and not *because* of its entity, and as an executive Council is, as we all know, of far greater practical value than a merely ministerial Council, we may take it that, his own is one so extensively obstructuive, that his success as Chief Magistrate of India—to whatever that success may amount—has been achieved by strenuous and persistent endeavours to antagonise his Councillors, so that, in short, we are to suppose Lord Curzon's system of rule may, in homely terms, be reduced to one of opposing his Council ; and this it is, we hesitate to conclude, although his Lordship describes it by implication, as comprising the whole duty of a Viceroy and Governor General. Either His Excellency's burden of reasoning conveys this, or it is meaningless. What other conclusion can we possibly draw from his words? If then, they are to be taken as resulting from his experience, how are we to understand our British constitution, Parliamentary organisation and those several bodies, which, as Committees and Councils, make up the sum of government? Our Sovereign has his—our Privy Council—that humbly advises him how to dispose of litigious contention, our Secretary of State has his ; our House of Commons has its committees that act as Councils of consulation ; our Vicerory has his, our Lieutenant-Governors have theirs, and both Madras and Bombay have theirs as well. Are we then to suppose that all these are failures, tempered by accident, such as Viceregal, or Presidential rescue ; that but for exceptional ability in heads of administrations, our whole constitutional administrative fabric, at home in our colonies, and elsewhere, are simply propped up and prevented from collapse, by allegiance to their chiefs, or can it be that they are in subjection to that "higher principle" that

dominates legislative assemblies, of which His Excellency spoke, a principle beyond the ken of ordinary mortals, and revealed only to heads of Governments and administrations, and such exalted personages? Then Lord Gurzon spoke thus :—

"Gentlemen, I hope that I have now carried you to the point of realising first, that the case for the relief of Bengal is overwhelming secondly, that Bengal cannot be relieved by chipping off outside fragments ; thirdly, that it cannot be left as it is, a palliative."

His Lordship has far more confidence of his power of persuasion than his hearers. But let us allow that Bengal is under necessity for relief. Why may not she be dealt with, as it was contemplated Provinces? Beharess are essentially westerners. Their sympathies are not with Bengalee. They employ western langunge, and their amalgamation with Eastern Bengal has never been an accomplished fact. Their modes of life are different, their very diet is dissimilar, and the predilections are in favour of annexation. With Orissa cut off along our southern and western slope and Behar on our northern and western, we should still retain in its integrity our East Bengal teritory, with Bengalees a compact and undivided ... A Bengalee, even if only a cultivator, may fully apprehend that he is in peril during a thunderstorm, although he may not have even a superficial knowledge scientifically, of how electricity acts, its causes or its *effects*. But according to Lord Curzon, he possesses scarcely more instinct than a mere beast, and if he cannot explain by what laws electric currents are governed, he cannot have any conception that electricity may cause fatal results. And that we do not exaggerate our Viceroy's scepticism as to this agitation, that has thrilled Bengal, we will quote his own words :—

"Do not suppose however, even if I show the agitation to be a hollow and unreal one, in so far as it is supposed to emanate from the masses, that therefore, I doubt for a moment that the feelings of which I am speaking, are generally entertained, by many educated and thoughful men."

That is to say, that although hollow and unreal, these feelings have been stirred in bodies beyond those ninety-nine percent, of non-English understanding persons, of whom Bengal is composed, and have percolated to enlightened and thoughtful men, and to such his Lordship condescended to address some of what he styled, in a satirical vein, no doubt, his agruments, without, we fear, making a convert. Of course, His Excellency cannot affect to believe that any political agitation arises and has origin in our masses, here or elsewhere. His Lordship told us emphatically that, he had observed.

"Within a few hours journey of this very place, Bengali people living contentedly, in Sylhet and Cachar, under the Assam administration, quite unconscious that they were the appanage of a backward province, or that they had been ceded or annexed to any one at all. I have also spoken to Bengal officers who have served both in Assam and Bengal, and who have told me that the administration is brought much nearer to the people of Assam than in Eastern Bengal."

As Lord Curzon has assured us, he has actually *witnessed* what he states, politeness restrains our pen, and we let his remark pass, but in respect to its correctness in point of fact, scepticism is excusable. We all know how bitterly Sylhet has complained that she has been victimised to a form of administration that has dealt unfairly with her and we also know that, she is far, very far from satisfied at being annexed to Assam ; that her protest was loud and deep, and that she still silently objects to her severance from Bengal, but if His Excellency says otherwise, we are not rude enough to contradict him. His gift of eloquence covers a multitude of shortcomings, though it cannot convert fact into fiction, and *vice versa*. This we shall consider later

12.3.1904

SUNDAY'S MEETING

Proceedings of a representative meeting of inhabitants of Dacca town held at 5 p. m. at Jagannath College premises, to consider the speeches delivered by his Excellency our Vicoroy at Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh. Rai Kaliprassnna Ghose, Bahadur, presided. A very large number of both Hindoos and Muhammadans was present, variously computed at from fifteen hunderd to some two thousand persons, counting those inside and out. Hindoos and Muhammadans attended in good force. Two resolutions were proposed and unanimously carried, Resolution I. That, after a careful consideration of the speeches delivered by His Excellency the Vicerory at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh, in connection with the proposed partition of Bengal, this meeting is of opinion that they are not calculated to reassure the people of the district, or to allay their fears and apprehensions about the loss of many of their important rights and privileges by the proposed change. Proposed by Babu Trailakya Nath Bose, M. A., B. L., Vakil, Seconded by Mr. E. C. Kemp, supported by Babu Jogendra Nath Roy zemindar Bhagyakul, by Babu Rajani Nath Bose, M. A., B. L., Vakil and Munshi Hedayet Bux. Resolution II. That this meeting begs to record its emphatic but respectful protest against any scheme which would

divide the Bengalee-speaking districts and place them under different administrations. Proposed by Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A., Principal, Jagannath College. Sconded by Babu Gonga Chandra Ray. Supported by Babu Rajendra Lal Surma, Zemindar, and Babu Ram Chandra Ray, zemindar, Dhankora.

12.3.1904

LORD CURZON DISCOUNTED

An old saw hath it "There are none so blind as those who *won't see.*" and its truth has often been illustrated to us in Lord Curzon's speeches, here and eleswhere. A man of such quick instincts, such-subtle reasoning, is eager to grasp at a point he might turn to account against a controversial foe; could hardly have fuled to acquaint himself with local feeling all over Bengal, towards British rule generally, and as regards legislation particularly, so far as it has centred itself upon his line of policy, since he assumed office as Governor-General. Yet he told his hearers at Mymensingh, with an assurance born of a hope that his words were not likely to meet with refutation :—

"You profess to be thoroughly satisfied with the administration of Bengal. This is a discovery which it appears to me, as a careful student of your papers, that, you have only quite recently made, and yet, under that administration, the whole of the Mymensingh district, with a population of close upon four millions of persons, had been left with a single British Executive officers, the Collector of this place."

Really, when we read such assertions, we are at a loss how to comprehend them. In what part of any paper, journalistic or otherwise, has a representation appeared, that our Indian fellow subjects profess to be thoroughly satisfied with British administration in Bengal, as at present existing ; that even general satisfaction has been experienced and expressed? For what department of administration, not in Bengal alone, but throughout India, has eulogy been expressed as *thorough?* Is it in matters fiscal and municipal ; in police, in taxation, in educational affairs, in Abkari, in ecclesiastical distribution patronage, in law and administration of justice, in nomination of members of our Bengal, or our Supreme Council : in district control, in enactment of laws ; *where,* we ask again, and ask most earnestly, where shall we turn to find that control of this country is admittedly carried on in its own interests? Not partially, but wholly, so as to diffuse a satisfaction that may be honestly styled, as Lord Curzon has assured us it is—*thorough* ; in other words, without leaving room for

complaint. He has told us he gleaned that information from "your papers." *What* papers, he was cautions not to particularise, so his attitude is one of indefiniteness, as it has all along been in these districts. He has spoken for hours upon may be's and might be's, but never, for one instant, has he committed himself to any clearly-defined line of policy ; indeed, his diplomacy was even less explicable than that of "three acres and a cow" resorted to at home by ultra zeal in polling tactics, some years back. And in what direction was this satisfaction, of which Lord Curzon spoke, manifested ; in what phrases, and by whom? It is clear to demonstration that, there is not, that there never has been, such a department, and in all human probability, there never will be. Whence, then, is this newly-made discovery, and how has it been indicated? If nearly four millions of Bengalees are held in control in a single district, and kept in order by one British officer, what does that prove? Surely, that Mymensingh is an ultra law abiding district, although it may also be interpreted as a proof of this single British officer's tact and judgment, which, howover, could not be so entirely effective, as to keep within wholesome administrative discipline, so immense a number, unless they were willing to be controlled, and rendered themselves amenable to good order and constitutional authority ; and if we allow this, it is surely, a heavy blow dealt at Lord Curzon's theory of immediate necessity for relieving our provincial Governor without dealy, of his administrative burden, because of his inability to cope with his responsibilities, owing to a rapid growth of population, for, if population in these parts is of so plastic a disposition, it will suffice it to have less authority than now exercised over its daily existence, provided that authority be inflexible a tangent to assure me ... may be satisfied, *he* is not. He enquired :—

'Is it not commonplace that the officers in Eastern Bengal are so undermanned, and so overworked, that it is the object of nearly every one among, them to get away, as soon as possible, to some lighter and more agreeable charge?"

It is most assuredly and emphatically not so, for, whilst we have not any wish to deny that Dacca, especially, as a principal centre and as capital of Eastern Bengal, and some other distcicts in this Province cannot be regarded as affording much case, or relaxation, to their officers, we are unable to endorse his Lordship's dictum that, it is their chief aim to quit it. Far from this, we have known men strive their utmost to be appointed to East Bengal—Dacca, in especial—and when so appointed, to strive their best to keep here! But that does not affect His Excellency's position in imputing to East Bengal an insufficiency of executive

authority. That is so, admittedly, and if so, seeing that, although needing executive supervision, she can so well in most respects, hold her own with other provinces, His Excellency's argument for immediate relief is nowhere. It is scarcely an agrument to maintain that, in as much as Mymensingsh is exceptional, because of her single executive officer, with a population equal to that of Orissa, where we find a divisional Commissioner and three Collectors, therefore that, this fact should reflect upon East Bengal. Far from it. His Excellency is clearly entitled to any force his contention may derive from his own words, which will not give, him any advantage at all, as far as we can judge :—

"The Chittagong division is only a little more populous, and is equipped on the same scale as Orissa. Do you mean to tell me that this is a satisfactory state of affairs? Do you suppose it would have been tolerated for all these years, had you possessed a local Government at Dacca, instead of in remote Calcutta and Darjeeling?"

Possibly not, but as Calcutta is scarcely remote, being within ten hours journey of Dacca, and Darjeeling, about a dozen more, it does not strike us that these circumstances have any close bearing upon Mymensingh, its population, or its Collector, past, present, or prospective. There may be some mysterious affinity in this grouping, but we do not see it. One fact appears very prominetly, that, such arguments as Lord Curzon has employed go far to favour a local Government and an Executive Council, whilst they cannot, by any contortion, or distortion, be made to favour dismemberment.

19.3.1904

MEMORIAL

Returing to our notice of a very ably drawn and exhaustive memorial to Sir Andrew Fraser, submitted from Dacca in protest against Lord Curzon's scheme of dismembering Eastern Bengal. We, in our last mention of this most temperately-worded and incisive document, noted that, Sir Andrew Fraser, our Lieutenant-Governor, would feel his hands weakened without his Council. It will be as well to offer a few remarks upon how people in these provinces would stand affected, were they to find themselves bereft of their present form of administration. In reference to their existing right of interpellation, discussion of budget provisions, and generally, of their admitted right to discuss with Government how provincial resources should be applied, these memorialists urge very strongly, and it seems to us, very justly, how they prize these privileges. They remark :—

"Your humble memorialists submit that, nothing can be more unfortunate for the people of this district, than to be deprived of these cherished rights and privileges, which have been gradually, and step by step, granted and extended by a wise and baneficent Government, in recognition of the claims of Bengal as the most enlightened and advanced province in the extensive dominions under the sway of the Government of India, and to be relegated to a form of administration designed and fitted for primitive and aboriginal tribes in the lowest stratum of civilization."

Any person reading a protest of this character, must be struck by its flat contradiction of Lord Curzon's sneering disparagement of people in Eastern Bengal, who, according to his Lordship, are too ignorant to compose a few placards such as our city walls were adorned with, on his arrival here. But there is far more that strikes one as anomalous. Why, we cannot but enquire, were these privileges, now sought to be withdrawn, ever granted to Bengal? It must surely have been upon a basis that, they would be understood, appreciated, and utilized with wise prudence and discriminating judgment. Why then, we cannot too often or too emphatically ask, should they now, when their full value is known and prized, be suddenly, and without any assignable reason, cancelled? If we watch their progress, we shall see that they were granted tentatively. As education developed, as intelligence opened, as a growing sense of presonal and political responsibility manifested itself, and the art of government became familiarised amongst our cultured classes of Indians, so, to keep pace with their maturing condition and their rising aspirations, were they admitted to privileges of which, previously, they could have formed but faint and imperfect conceptions. And is it right, is it wise, nay, is it honourable, we ask, that they should be tantalized by being trained to comprehend that, their capabilities had entitled them to take part in administering the affairs of thair native soil, only to be told, hereafter, that, having reached a high standard of proficiency, they must submit to lose a century of progress, by being associated with a people inferior to them in every possible claim to recognition as representatives of their countrymen's needs and requirments? Can it be said that, a step so retrograde as this, ever deformed the statute-book of any civilized land? Nor can it be said that, these memorialists are without support in their prayer. Lord Lansdowne, when Viceroy of India in 1893, on introducing rules framed under a statute of a year before, said on 4th Feb., 1893, as regards our Indian Councils :—

"The privilege thus conferred upon the Legislative Council is, I venture to think, one of great importance ..... The right to criticise

the financial administration of a government, is one of which it is impossible to over-estimate the value, and I have never concealed my opinion that, it was improper, as well as illogical, that, that right should be frequently denied, merely upon the technical ground that, no bill upon which a financial debate could be originated happened to be before the Council."

And not satisfied with saying this, Lord Lonsdowne added :—

"These financial discussions will now take place with regularity, and not upon sufferance, and I feel no doubt that, both the public and the Government of India will gain, the one by the wider knowledge and insight into public affairs which it will obtain, the other by the increased opportunity which will be given to it of explaining its position, and defending its policy."

And his Lordiship was so fully satisfied that, this expansion of our Councils was a politic and prudent measure, that he expressed himself with candour upon their remodelled constitution :—

"I will, however veuture to say that, even if the changes which we have been able to introduce were to stop short with those which I have now explained—and I don't suggest for a moment that, this is likely—a very material advance will have been made in the direction of increasing the usefulness of the Legislative Councils. Their functions have, until now, with the solitary exception to be found in those occasional discussions of the Budget which I have just mentioned, been strictly and narrowly limited to those of assisting the Government of India in the work of legislation."

Thus we see that Lord Lansdowne, a man of varied and extensive experience laid great weight upon this duty of discussing and criticising budgets. So much did he think of it as to express himself in very unmistakable terms upon its importance.

19.3.1904

CORRESPONDENCE

[We are not responsible for any opinions expressed by our correspondents, nor do we, by inserting endorse them Authentica-tion is necessary, as a proof of good faith. Ed. B. T.]

SPLENDID PLEADING

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—What with your very ably-written articles against partition, and that unanswerable memorial submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal by some well-known gentlemen of this twon, who

combining their forces, have made out a case that cannot be broken down, I do not see how Lord Curzon can proceed with his dismemberment scheme. Throughout the controversy to which Lord Curzon has so largely and unconsciously contributed, all Bengal has looked on in amazement, at the wealth of talent forced to the front in discussing this momentous question, and I must say that, although our local bar was known to stand high for its forensic and legal talent, it has eclipsed itself by its participation in public discussion in refuting our Governor-general, Messrs. A. C. Roy, Troylokhya Nath Bosu and others, have spoken with splendid point and force, also, Rai Bahadur K. P. Ghose, and Mr. H. C. Mitra, Principal of Jagganath College, has acquitted himself very creditably in debate, in both logic and language. Munshi Hedayet Buksh has on several occasions made stirring and eloquent speeches, and for yourself, I need not say more than that, you have unflinchingly sustained your wide reputation as a speaker, a writer and a reasoner, whose superior in East Bangal amongst Europeans has yet to be found. I am no flatterer, but I must say that the *Bengal Times*, since this question arose, has risen greatly in public estimation. Well, Sir, with all this against him, will Lord Curzon pause, or continue? Some people, who appear to be in the know prognosticate his severance from India on his return home next month, and I am disposed to agree with them. I am sorry for this, as he is an able man, and many will regret losing him, but we are all much more sorry for Bengal, and would sooner retain our ancestral homes than our Governor-General.

20th March 1904.

Yours faithfully,
MOONSHEE AKBAR

19.3.1904

PARTITION

Lord Lansdowne, continuing his remarks, intended to show how great an advantage it is, that Budget estimates should be openly discussed in Council, and referring to a time previous to 1893, when this system was not followed, said, as regards our Legislative Councils :—

They have been absolutely precluded from asking for information or enquiring into matters of public interest, In advising her Majesty's Government to allow us to exceed these limits, we feel that we have taken a very serious and far-reaching step. We have taken it under a deep sense of the responsibility which we have

assumed ; we are fully aware that we are effecting radical change in the character of these legislatures ; but we are profoundly convinced that the time has come when it is desirable to bring them in to the rest of the community, and that the reform which-ever are about to introduce, is one which will before the advantage of the Government as well as the people of this country."

Thus, then, we note that, although this form of inquisitorial controversy, or discussion, as it may otherwise more mildly be called, was a decided boon, granted to Indians of shades of political status and bias, it was also an undoubted advantage to Government. Bearing this very important fact in mind, one is perplexed how to interpret Lord Curzon's contemplated disruption of East Bengal. To what can we attribute his meditated punitive exclusion of our most advanced province, from taking its share in a form of deliberation admittedly advantageous to Government? With one stroke of his omnivorous and strident pen, our Viceroy would lay Bengal under an embargo of disqualification, as unwise and impolitic, as it is unjust and illogical, according to Lord Lansdowne. Our present Viceroy's policy contemplates a fatal blow, aimed at East Bengal's future, not in this respect alone, but it embraces a measure by which, eleven millions of his Majesty's Indian subjects, not one whit less deserving than those of other districts, or one iota less keenly alive—taken as a population—to their fiscal and financial interests, in fact because they are *more* advanced and of superior capacity to the common average of other districts, are to be cut of from privileges they have enjoyed, by reason of their superiority, in developed maturity and cultivated intelligence. More than this. Loss of their local legislative Council will be, added to their other disabilities ; and they will find themselves without reasonable cause or indicated provocation, shut out from having a voice, both as regards application of administrative measures to existing conditions, and also, as to any repeal of acts, wholly or in part, hitherto in force and working smoothly and effectively. And why? Can such vital, we had almost written penal, exclusions, be deemed necessary for an administrative change of jurisdiction and territorial modification of area? We cannot think that Government, anxious and solicitous as it tells us it is, to secure to its Indian subjects their rights, immunities and privileges, can under any conceivable circumstances, feel itself driven to such straits. Furthermore, we find that our Viceroy, whilst in these districts, recently, supported Mr. Risley's views, as set forth in that gentleman's letter to our local Government, in which he declared that, loss of certain districts it is contemplated transferring from Eastern Bengal :—

"would be more than compensated, if Assam were share a seat in the legislative Council of the Governor-General with the Central Provinces, furnishing a member alternately with that administration."

In no respect would this arrangement be a compensation. It is at best but a temporary plan, for our Supreme Council to meet, anually, ere a high range of temperature disperses it to Simla, and when it does meet, it in no way allows a representative member to interfere with any local laws— those of our Bengal Council, we mean, which are passed by our Governor-General-in-Council under a certain statute Vic. 33 and 34, C. 3, without any sort of discussion of their merits ; so that a local representative in our Supreme Council would not serve any purpose, were a new administration formed, so far as local laws are concerned, since discussion in our Viceroy's Council would be disallowed. Then Mr. Risley's letter says, as a word of pacification, that :—

"the statutes which confer upen the Governor-General-in-Council the power to alter the limits of provinces, expressly provides that no such alteration shall of *itself* affect the law in force in the territories concerned. It follows that the scheme under consideration will involve no change *in the system of administration of the districts* transferred."

Perhaps so. A transfer of certain districts may not in itself affect laws in force in those districts or alter existing regulations, yet these statutes, it cannot be denied, confer upon any administration to which such transfer is made, full power to alter, amend, or suspend such laws, and thus, we are, unable to see any practical force in Mr. Risley's contention. A mere report from a Chief-Commissioner—supposing him to be of Assam—might influence our Governor-General-in-Council to modify, or to recast a pre-existing law, or statutory enactment, so as to distort it from its original intention. Thus, then, we fail to see how these statutes confer stability and permanency, or act as a deterrent for any purpose of protecting districts whose future must, as matters stand, be regarded with much concern as uncertain and unpromising. A question has mean-while arisen, whether or not Lord Curzon has power to transfer any portion of Bengal without special sanction from home, and till that point has been set at rest, we think, it will be premature for him to parcel out Bengal, as he apparently contemplates doing. That question, however, we may lay aside just now, and turn to another point, as regards an Assam district. We find that, Bengal Acts and regulations in operation in these districts when Sylhet was dismembered from Bengal, that

applied equally to Sylhet, have been substituted by laws materially prejudicial to that district, and these enactments may be summarised as relating to alluvial increments, to settlement, partition, sales for arrears of revenue, public demands recovery, opening and closing of separate accounts for payment of revenue, & . All these, it seems, have been repealed by Regulation I of 1866, to which our district memorialists thus refer :--

"And the nature and extent of the change may easily be conceived, when it is seen that, the whole law of the province relating to rights in land, resumption, survey, settlement, record of rights, land registration, partition and union of estates, house-tax, recovery of arrears of revenus and other public demands, and the procedure to be adopted in these matters are all contained within the compass of the aforessid regulation, containing only one hundred and fifty-nine sections. That your memorialists understand that, this important change in the laws of Assam was effected, notwithstanding the solemn assurance of Lord Northbrook to the people of Sylhet, when it was annexed, to Assam, that its law would not be affected, and the protests of the people of that district when the change was made."

Thus it will be seen that, a sacred pledge of conservation of rights and immunities—under which, a district of great area and considerable population, that may almost rank as a province, upon being added to a backward province like Assam—was disregarded, and laws and regulations ruthlessly set aside, amidst tearful and heartrending protest, without an atom of justification. And if this is a simple of good faith and honourable fulfilment of obligation, in territorial dismemberment, can Lord Curzon in face of it, affect to discredit and to ignore the wholesle agitation that has stirred East Bengal to its depths?

26.3.1904

LORD CURZON ON PARTITION

Taken with a discount necessarily heavy, because of their constant and wide variation with fact—Lord Curzon's utterances in East Bengal do not bear close inspection kindly. At first, on hearing him speak—whilst constantly referring to copious notes to refresh his memory—people were too confused—perhaps, too charmed by his eloquence—to gather their wits together, so as to form some sort of defensive barrier. They needed time to consolidate their forces. Their Viceroy had assured them, upon what he insisted was unimpeachable authority, that their precouceptions in respect to our Bengal administration were founded in error ; they had been

led away by some Jack o'Lontern illusion, to form ideas that he could disipate in a few minutes—so he implied—though they had been deceived for years. And no doubt he staggered many, by his boldness of assertion and his air of assurance. We had to ask ourself seriously—"Can this possible be true, opposed as it is to our experience of year?" We felt confident that, Lord Curzon was merely acting a part, in which, frequent rehearsal had perfected him, and yet, his plausible language went far to deceive. A little quite reflection and classiflation of thought, soon brought back to us a power of steady analysis, and we saw to our dismay,how and to what and his so called arguments tended. How completely he entrapped some fancies, may be seen from his having persuaded men of sound and stabel mental calibre that, he had simply annihilatal arguments set forth in public orations and in newspaper articles, dealing with this vexed question of his own fertile creation, this bugbear of dismemberment. He spoke to us of *remote* Calcutta, and hooked her as a fit seat of Government for Bengal, and locating a contemplated administration in Dacca, kept appealing to his audience, if a seat of Government at Dacca—without defining its powers, or influence, or form—would not be infinitely preferable. Fascinated by a stream of eloquence that painted a future in showy, yet deceptive, if bright colours, he carried his audience, as a body, with him, though there were some who felt and said, it was all oratorical forth. Let us examine a few of his facts, taking calcutta's remoteness first. One instance has been adduced, as a grave mishap, resulting from Dacca being so remote from calcutta, and that is our terrible and devastating Orissa famine of 1866, and a féar is half implied of a repetition of that fell disaster. Rip Van Winkle might have rejoiced ... contention. but in these thirty eight years of rapid steam, ... and postal, telegraphical and travel connection that have passed since, we have spanned such disabilities, and now, Calcutta, though still remote from Dacca in Mr. Risley's and Lord Curzon's eyes, has been brought within fourteen hours of easy touch, and were we to start from its extreme western boundary, we could reach, Calcutta within six hours. This argument, therefore, counts for very little ; indeed, not for more than that other one, that bewails Bengal's congested population, as an effective bar to official administrative rule ; since in Eastern Bengal, Mymensingh district, with an immense and not over-ruly population, has been kept in order for years, by a single executive officer. To pursue such phantom contentions, as serious arguments, would, however, be a mere waste of time. If we turn to consider Lord Curzon's argument, as he seriously puts it, we shall find ourself in an inextricable maze. To any man of reasoning and

reflecting capacity, it may well offer a puzzle to understand how defects of an imperfectly developed—why mince matters and hesitate to say, an inefficiently. supervise—administration. necessarily so, can now be cured, and in future, can be anticipated, by annexing Dacca and Mymensinh to Assam. Some of these drawbacks receive themselves into absence of touch between rulers and ruled, and in irregulaı and infrequent communication between outlying districts and head quarters, hence inadequate control ... These are, not impossibly, regarded as minor points by those unacquainted with native customs and habits,but of decided force amongst those whom they affect. That district people are not in closer touch with their local authorities is bad enough, but matters look more hopeless when its cause is explained. A district officer in Bengal has no time to indulg in sentiment. Out of every three hundred and sixty-five days, he must be out in his district, away from head-quarters, for one hundred and twenty days, as a minimum annual tour, and this is taken more as a compliance with a regulation, requiring him to complete his stipulated number of days, than to bring him in touch with people of whom he knows nothing, and is not solicitous to know much more. Can anything be more obvious than for our Government to insist upon a closer and more resultful relation? Is anything easier than to bring these widely parted classes together, and to establish a pleasanter line of communion between them, and thereby open up wider channels of confidence, of mutual good feeling and attachment? Just as a beginning, some slight awkwardness will be felt and our *hakim* will perceive that his improvised *al fresco* "At Homes," fall far short of fulfilling their purpose, but habit will overcome all this. If a district be properly and sufficiently officered, it is not too much to say that, contact between district dwellers and their local authorities, one day out of three in every year, will familiarise them with each other and create a bond of union, which is now said to be wanting. If Lord Curzon's argument possesses any value, its force can easily be dissipated amongst thoughtful communities in Bengal, and raise up for him an impregnable phalanx of support, by means already at hand. It cannot, under any conditions, be used as a lever for giving effect to Mr. Risley's suggestion, or for Lord Curzon's endorsement of its validity. It must also be taken into serious account that, in some districts in which population is very large, like Mymensingh, for example, there must always be unimportant localities which district officers regard as lacking a claim upon their time and attention, since both are demanded for more pressing and immediate duties. Thus it may happen that, they are seldom or never visited. An effectual cure for this is to

split these districts up into sub-duvisions, to ensure their constant inspection. It is not by dividing, but by cementing units. that Eastern Bengal can hope for improved supervision.

26.3.1904

PARTITION

Besides those we have named, and they do not amount to a few, there are other and equally strong objections to Lord Curzon's contemplated plans for Bengal, which we have not touched upon yet. If we are really to witness a dismemberment of Dacca, Mymensingh, and Chittagong, and their annexation to Assam, we shall be unable to close our eyes to one great factor inseparable from such a change—a complete and permanent stagnation of legislative measure now emanating from our Lieutenant-Governor's Council. Material development must also be retarded, and a train of legislative evils, chiefly obstructive, follow, since we shall be without an Executive Council, and as that is our legislative foundry, where laws are forged periodically to meet requirements, as they grow. its disbarment will act as an obstruction to that necessary progression, without which, there must be air irremediable clog to administrative advancement. We shall, in fact, fall behind our needs, from a status Bengal has gradually acquired, during years of effort and struggle, through her unaided exertions and advancing capacity. Added to this, will come another hindrance. Assams population being composed of numerours tribes, races, and peoples of different creeds, tendencies propensities and aspirations, and not always of harmonious interests, for whose behest it will not be practicable—if found requisite—to legislate separately, and a tendency to provide a general and uniform law for Assam, as it will then be constituted, will, without doubt, involve a sacrifice of needs and requirements, which, under our present system, heve a measure of consideration. In short, Bengal, we mean annexed Bengal, will be subordinated in her interests and aspirations to an imperfectly-developed province, that is, in plain language, a more advanced people will be pushed backwards, to maintain uniformity with a province lagging behind. If this be part of Lord Curzon's programme, and we are unable to dissociate it from his general project, Bengal's prospect looms very dismally. That this must be so, is clear from a recent review of Sylhet's fate, which is still governed by our old tenancy laws, notwithstanding that Bengal districts are amenable to Act VIII of 1885, a statute introduced into Bengal after much and critical discussion and prolonged deliberation. Sylhet has been cut off from the operation of this Act,

notwithstanding Lord Northbrcook's solemn pledge to Sylhet Zemindars that her laws should not be affected by her annexation to Assam, a pledge that has been disregarded in more than one instance, as in the Local Rates Regulation, III of 1879, which has been made applicable to Sylhet, in order to include her with other temporarily settled tracts: It may not, perhaps, be known that, these "local rates" mean a heavy tax, assessed on every acre of permanently-settled land, levied from owners only—an obvious violation of our Bengal Permanent Settlement of 1793. Nor does this complete our tale of injustice. In 1891, there was passed a law, in respect to Sylhet, known as the "Jhum" Regulation, which cancelled all rights in regard to certain assets, assessed in permanently settling estates, and providing for their commutation, and this against sustained and vehemently uttered, protest by landholders in Sylhet ; and in discussing this part of our subject, it is well we should reproduce, if only in brief, the Sylhet Zemindars' protest against a spoliating policy they repudiated as an infraction of their vested rights and immunities. After reminding His Excellency that, they had forwarded, through their deputy-Commissioner, a memorial signed by nine thousand persons, dated 17th March, 1882, against this obnoxious Regulation, to which allusion has been made, they go on to say :—

"The most distinguishing featurs of the Bill is that it prescribes one uniform code for the whole Ravenue system of the province. This could have been advantageously and equitably effected, had there existed one landed system in Assam, but on the contrary, a diversity of land-tenures prevails in the provinces. Estates under Permanent Settlement exist only in the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara ; temporary-settled estates in Cachar and Jyntian, the Ryotary tenures in Assam Proper, and Ellam estates and Government land in Sylhet. The rights, titles, interests and liabilities attached to these tenures, are so very distinct in each case, that each class of tenures requires a distinct and separate legislation. The code your memorialists submit, is therefore objectionable, on the ground of the principle on which it is based, as it throws the whole revenue system of the province into a state of uncertainty and confusion."

In this earnestness of tone, in this fervency of spirit, did these unfortunates plead for their rights, but to no avail. It was almost intimated to them that, they had never possessed any rights, or perhaps, had lost them. In the legitimate execess of its functions, a civilised Legislature should have a proper respect for the rights of

property, and cannot ignore the circumstances of the country and the condition of the people. But the code in question utterly ignores all such respect for the rights of property."

Much more to this effect was stated, and unanswerable pleas were read and disregarded, as though unknown—certainly unheeded. Their prayers and entreaties were resultless. Having shown that these hapless people were taken at a terrible disadvantage, their rights wrested from them, and their cries for justice disregarded, we must leave them to their despondency, and return to our subject, premising, however, that Sylhet is quiet, not became she is satisfied with, or even reconciled to, her lot, but because of her abject helplessness. And with this sample of breach of faith before her, is it likely that East Bengal will content herself with and accept all, Lord Curzon's oratorical froth as Gospel? He could not have more completely put his audience on guard, than by his allusions and his assumed "annihilation"— so-called—of theories advanced by poor unlearned fellows unable to compose a few placards, because of their ignorance of English, merely roused them to a keen sense of danger and distrust. Had Lord Curzon kept control of his temper : had he refrained from insult, and held to reason and to *fact*, his words must have carried greater weight and made more lasting impression. But, carried away by his feelings, arising out of a set resolve to stamp out opposition, he trod upon some very sensitive corns, and thus lost in personal influence, what he might have gained by oratorical persuasiveness. His rhetoric failed him in Dacca. People could not be persuaded that, partition of Bengal and her absorption by Assam, could be for her or their benefit, and their density may be explained by a reference to Lord-Curzon's own contention—Firstly, because of their deplorable ignorance of English in its initial and introductory branches ; secondly, because their dense and benighted minds have not yet received sufficient light to comprehend that "higher principle" of governing men against their interests, their desires, and their life rooted habits, confided to Vicerorys, Secretaries, and other specially-gifted beings. Such as do not enjoy the elevation of intellect that can appreciate and promote unpopular government, as the *summum bonum of human* bliss and successful statesmanship, will, of necessity, and of their own free choice, continue obscure and unenlightened, but to Mr. Risley, and is a larger measure, to Lord Curzon, all things are possible, even to convert two and three into four, or two and two into five, as occasion may serve.

2.4.1904

PARTITION

Overplus of population, generally implies excessive crime, and proportionately to population, Dacca and Mymensingh are said to be under-officered, furnishing Lord Curzon with one, amongst other reasons, why a redistribution of Eastern Bengal has become necessary. In fact, he has said, in so many words, that Bengal suffers in this wise, in consequence of her congested population away from Eastern Bengal, do not suffer from this cause, it will be obvious that, Lord Curzon's contention will lose its force. From official statistics, we gather that, Bengal shows for 1901, a total of three hundred and fifty cases of dacoity, and 2,068 of rioting, divided thus :—Faridpur, total number of cases instituted, 2,171 ; dacoity, twelve ; rioting, one hundred and thirty-one, with an area in square miles of 2,281 ; and a population of 1,937,646 souls. Backergunge, cases, 3,869 ; rioting, one hundred and nineteen : area, 3,645 square miles ; population, 2,201,752. Tipperah, cases, 1,764 ; rioting, ninety four ; area 2,499 ; pupulation, 2,117,991. Mymensing, cases, 7,501 ; dacoity, eleven : rioting seventy-eight ; area, 6,332 ; population, 3,915,068. Dacca, cases 2,638 ; rioting, sixty-eight ; area, 2,782 ; population, 2,649,522. Nadya, cases, 2,889 ; rioting, sixty-four, area, 2,793 ; population,, 1,667,491. Twenty-four Parganas, cases, 3,704 ; dacoity, thrity-two ; rioting, sixty ; area, 2,108 ; population, 2,078,359. Burdwan, cases, 2,655 ; dacoity, sixteen ; area, 2,689 ; population, 1,532,475 From these figures, we see how favourably these districts show in their records of crime, their criminal cases being, in proportion to area and population, less than those of other districts it is considered prudent and statesmanlike to leave undisturbed Thus, then, this one main argument for .dismembering Dacca and Mymensingh cannot hold water. Then, as to redistribution of territory for Bengal's relief. If, as regards Orissa, it be contended that, her educated and commercial classes are opposed to a transfer—it is, as a fact, quite otherwise—it must necessarily follow that, a similar objection may be urged with far greater cogency as regards Eastern Bengal. Lord Curzon's arguments are unique but generally sapless. As Orissa has been for nearly a century under our local Government, we are told, as a powerful plea, that it is difficult to ignore and to sever the associations of so long a period of unity, and we admit that there is some sentimental force in such a position. How much more reason, then may be found in favour of East Bengal, and especially of Dacca, as may be seen in one fact alone, that she was twice a seat of Government hence a political capital of all Bengal under both Hindoo and Muhammadan rulers, when Calcutta and her surrounding districts were swamps. Then,

again, if Lord Curzon's only, or chief object be to afford relief to Bengal by territorial readjustment, how easily he may compass that object, by adding Orissa to our Central Provinces which would gain by such addition in size and population, not to add, in political importance. Lord curzon insists, and it appears at first sight, with some show of reason, that a transfer of East Bengal has become so imperative, as to leave him no alternative. This we dispute, so far as Dacca and Mymensingh are concened. If one man, helped by an Executive Council of half-a-dozen members can govern an area of about 1,700,0-00 square miles, comprising various races, creeds, nationalities, sects and tribes, representing a corporate and not unoften, adverse interests, we fear we are dense enough not to be able to see why a portion of that great empire—Bengal—should not be governed efficiently by one man, aided by an efficient Exceutive, that might divide different departmental sections amongst its units. We insist strongly upon this point, because we see clearly how very easily it might be arranged to dismember Orissa, and by amalgamating it with the Central Provinces, relieve our lieutenant-Governor of an appreciable portion of his extensive charge, and thus afford satisfaction all round, keeping our Bengalee-speaking races united, whilst in no way injuring any community. And we think and hope that, such a project as this has such claims upon Lord Curzon's attention and consideration, as cannot very well be ignored. Another point, we would discuss is, Lord Curzon's resolve that, in annexing a part of Bengal to Assam he desires to render that province a vigorous and self-sustained administration. This argument is also susceptible of calm and rational discussion, such as we have touched upon already and to which we hope to be able to return shortly. At present, we would offer a few remarks upon Orissa. Its population, together with that of Jungle Mahals under its jurisdiction, represents 6,290,000 souls, with an area of 24,000 square miles, Sumbulpore and some of its adjacent feudatory states, under our Central Provinces, number a million and a half of Oorya-speaking people, whilst Ganjam, under Madras and Ganjam Agency Tracts, shows 1,275,000 and 87,000 souls, respectively, and in Vizagapatam Agency Tracts, number of Ooray-speaking people are 409,000 more. Thus we have an aggregate of 9,561,000 of one ianguage, that might conveniently be welded together and placed understand Commissioner, whilst Orissa might be bodily transferred to our Central Provinces, where her wants might, be better studied than under our local Government ; if, as Lord Curzon says, our lieutenant-Governor's charge is too heavy for one man. And as regards her deficiency in respect to a port, that also might be easily overcome, supposing it to be indispensably

requisite that she should have one provided, and that can be effected by adding Ganjam to a portion of Vizagapatam district including its town, and thus giving our Central Provinces, besides Chandhally, an excellent port and .... If this argument has any force, it might apply with equal reason to every Chief-Commissionership in India, since we have not one with its own separate and independent civil-service. Nor can we follow him when he tells us that, Bengal is now a feedpipe to Assam in this wise, and that, serving in a Chief-Commissionership appears to be regarded as a bar to promotion. It is not so, as far as our experience serves us. Mr. J. D. Anderson began as personal assistant in Assam, and retired as officiating-Commissioner of Chittagong ; both Mr. B. V. Nicholl, our present district Judge, and Mr. L. Hare, senior member, Sudder Board of Revenue, Calcutta, served in Assam, whilst Sir Steuart Bayley and Sir Charles Elliot both came to us as Lieutenant-Governor in succession, from officiating as Chief-Commissioner of Assam. We find, then, that this point of contention cannot serve Lord Curzon. It will be seen that, we have named only a few officers drafted from Assam, but were we so disposed, we might add Messrs. Douglas, Luttman-Johnson, and Mr. Greenshields, now officiating-Commissioner of Chittagong. And this leads us to question whether an exclusive service in Assam would not have an opposite tendency, to cramp energy and stifle ambition, seeing that an interchange of officers with Bengal is calculated to offer a wider range to emulation. but if it be considered otherwise, we have precedents to support that view. Assam, with her area of 56,00 square miles—only three thousand not being British territory—and a population of 6,126,000. with her extensive and flourishing tea estates and her oil, mineral, and other resources in infantile development, may well aspire to have her own service, since places of much smaller area can afford to supoort their's, such us our Straits Settlements, not to mention Ceylon, with an area of only 25,365 square miles and a population of 3,576,990 souls. These charges, it is admitted, have been efficiently administered, though their officers receive salaries that cannot be compared with those of our Bengal officers, our Ceylon Colonial Secretary receiving no higher a salary than twenty-four thousand rupees yearly—less than two-thirds of that of a Bengal divisional Commissioner. On its broad basis, we have another view to set forth, which is , that we are unable to understand why a backward province like Assam, should be bettered, by adding to her a slice of East Bengal ; that is, we would ask, upon what ground of political equity, or political necessity, a population of over eleven millions should be subordinated in interest, to serve half that number, or,

why an advanced and intellectually developing people, ripe for representative institutions and electoral government, should be pushed back politically, morally, and educationally upon baseless and frivolous grounds, and be compelled to keep pace with a people, ripe for representative institutions and electoral government, should be pushed back politically, morally, and educationally upon baseless and frivolous grounds, and be compelled to keep pace with a people far their inferiors, and *because* their inferiors. This is a problem we defy Lord Curzon, with all his subtlety of wit, to solve. He has not made much headway towards that end yet.

6.4.1904

PARTITION

Times and occasions occur, when men of ordinarily staid and sound judgment are apt, under undue excitement, to give utterance to rash statements, that are calculated to expose them to exceedingly severe criticism, leading even to a challenge of their honesty of conviction, since utterances in public are supposed to be made deliberately, and to be so interpreted. Without directly calling in question Lord Curzon's sincerity, in his utterances at Dacca and Mymensingh, although it is with difficulty one can believe that, he was not put to it, at times, to conceal a vein of satire, that permeated his wellstudied periods, we would, in all seriousness, ask him if he really meant his audience to believe that ... There are those, who hold he could never have entertained so preposterous a notion. Yet, if he could, in sober earnest, have comforted himself with an idea of Dacca's illiteracy, it is not impossible—though highly improbable—he may have become blinded to facts, and have allowed himself to be led into wild speculation. Had he read up a few scraps of Indian, and especially, of local history, or have directed some of his subordinates to have a *precis* prepared from old documents extant, in a fair state of preservation, and have studied them before setting out on his journey eastward, to these districts, he might have stored his mind with valuable facts, disproving, both directly and by implication, much of what he told us here, with an apparent gravity and earnestness, that aped sincerity, if they did not caricature it. Now, there are facts known to every man of fair educational attainments, of which Lord Curzon could scarcely have been ignorant. When John Company assumed the Dewani, Dacca formed an integral of its regulation territories, and its district lands were all permanently settled, its settlement laws receiving development as legislation progressed, an advantage that must necessarily be denied ...

and annexed to a province far behind her in this wise ; so that, in order to maintain legislative development in this part of his Majesty's dominions, it has become a necessary condition that Dacca should be retained as part of our regulation territory. Thus her protest against Lord Curzon's scheme of dismemberment is but a natural prayer coming from descendants of a long line of landholders—ancient barons of Bengal—that she should be left undisturbed. Again There are many zemindaries and other estates on the revenue roll of Dacca, that have their lands situated in neighbouring districts, such as Faridpur, Pubna, Backergunj, and other districts, and it would be anomolous, as Lord Curzon proposes, by separating these districts, to bring their lands under different sets of laws or regulations.

They may possess in a certain proportion, every quality we have enumerated, and yet be untrustworthy judges, when immersed in two conflicting views, whithout an iota of personal interest in either. Metaphysicians tell us that, one man is at any time perfectly same mathematically gauged, since to be so, he must have all his mental faculties exactly balanced, without a hair's breadth of preponderance in any, and no case can be imagined, in which any mind may have all its powers, in active and vigorous operation, simultaneously, upon a mathematical equipose. Without question or cavil, Sir Henry Cotton was a capable administrator ; a far seeing, astute man, of resourceful mind, but with tendencies calculated to cloud reason and to deflect impartiality. Of sympathy, he possessed an abundance, with leanings that played havoc with his mental equilibrium, so that, when merciful, he was too much so, and vice verca. Thus arose his popularity amongst his own countrymen, and its converse amongst his Indian friends. Doing politically dead, we have no intention to revive him, that we may set him up as a target for criticism. Yet, though officially defunct, as far as India's executive is concerned, he is very sturdily alive in his literary tilts against Lord Curzon, between whom and himself, there was never very much affection to spare : and just as Lord Curzon snubbed him in his capacity as Chief-Commissioner of Assam, has Sir Henry Cotton taken occasion to retaliate from a safe coign of vantage, by hurling at Lord Curzon his heaviest and most destructive literary explosives, that any person can see carry with them a certain damage-producing power, for it must be conceded that, every ruler, especially, in a satrapy like that of India, if closely criticised as to his policy, may be shown to be at fault, and that in various ways. Of late, we have seen two counter-blasts of this kind, neither of them very weak, though of unequal force and significance, with one of which we are concerned to-day. Sir Henry has

selected a radical style of criticism, in a powerful London daily, and he hits out from the shoulder—as every Englishman should—with an energy that loses nothing from lack of personal animus. It has been urged on his behalf that, his very excess of honest indignation makes him appear to disadvantage, as a too vehement champion of right. It may be so. To us it seems, however, that in his article, he aims rather at denouncing wrong, as it suggests itself to him, than at upholding right. But he must answer for himself. In condemning Lord Curzon's retrograde educational policy, Sir Henry tells us our Vicerory has reached his culmination, by abolishing competitive examinations, and follows up first blood," by asserting that, Lord Curzon means to employ selected candidates on probation for our public service, and Sir Henry says of this :—

"It is needless to say that, this retrograde measure does not apply to the examinations which are held in England, for the Indian Civil Service, but is a drastic move in the direction of retarding educational progress in India, under the guise of reform, while it sets loose all the elements of favouritism and jobbery, which the examination system had done so much to successfully remove."

There have, no doubt, been instance in which nominees have been preferred, but we can hardly say that, this has been adopted as a *system*, and until this charge has been fully established against him, we suspend judgment. Sir Henry goes much further. He says Lord Curzon's domestic policy has been retrograde in many ways. In touching upon that unfortunate Official Secrets Bill, he decidedly hits a blot—but whether it was "deliberately designed to curtail the liberty of the Press", we think may be open to question. That one of its effects will so tend, no reasonable man can doubt, but we also have our doubt if that was either its sole, or its original intention, and it is only right that Lord Curzon should not be condemned until no colourable ground is left for rejecting his conviction. If we deal with him as on trial. That trial ought to be fair and unbiased in every element. It is merely upon an equitable and conscientious basis we can allow him to be condemned. Sir Henry's charges seem to be exhaustless. He alludes to "the blows which have been dealt at local self-Government," and instances Calcutta, "Where, in utter disregard of repeated and emphatic expressions of public opinion, a long-standing, successful system of Municipal administration has been swept away." In this matter, also, we should not fail to admit that, opinions have been conflicting, though there has been a general tendency to oppose Lord Curzon. Sir Henry goes on to tell us :—

"Those who have watched contemporary events in India, are aware of the systematic discouragement of popular institutions, of the practical declaration of race disqualification for public offices, of the proposals which have been so strenuously opposed by Indian public opinion, but which are now on the point of being enforced for fettering unaided schools and colleges, and of the general sinister, drift in favour of officialising all branches of education. The step of which we now hear is the climax of this policy."

It must honestly be admitted that, this accusation is not without some truth. There cannot be a question that, Lord-Curzon has pursued a course that, in some of its features, is undoubtedly retrograde, but we must not forget that, his policy, if retrograde, has also been corrective, though not wholly so. He has demolished, instead of renovating, and has substituted, where he might have reconstructed. As regards his educational measures, it is not enough to say that, there has been an influence at work, to bring private enterprise into competition with Government, which we cannot regard as fair, and which is opposed to the declared policy of Government. We could, if we so desired, go much further, and may do so, on some future occasion, State education, theoretically, is designed to fill a gap, to supply what is lacking, but in no respect to rival existing institutions fully equipped to meet all requirements. We do not observe that this condition has been strictly fulfilled, or that private enterprise has been encouraged. Contrariwise, there has been a leaning to swamp it.

9.4.1904

PARTITION

Beyond what we have already dwelt upon with such special point and emphasis, there are objections to East Bengal's dismemberement, of which Lord Curzon and his advisers are, or affect-to be, unconscious. His Lordship has told us that, under his new scheme of roconstruction, we should either have a Board of Revenue, or a Financial Commissioner—its equivalent, as he was pleased to say—since, as only one-member of our Saddar Board hears appeals, there would be no difference between our present procedure and a Revenuẻ Financial Commissioner. Lord Curzon is entirely at sea in this view, upon several perceptible and indisputable points. A Board of Revenue is indispensable, not only because of its composition from our most experienced officers, skilled and trained by long experience in revenue matters every class and complexion relating to settled estate but because it is a Metropolitan centre, accessible to legal advice second to none procurable in India

whilst, upon economical grounds, it represesnts a advantage that would necessarily lose by substtution, in so far, as that, one set of agencies now suffices for work both in our Board and our High Court. Thus, then, a Financial Commissioner, however able in himself, would be a poor substitute for a Board. Then, as to our High Court, learnt from his Excellency that, although jurisdiction would be retained at present, removal is a contingency with which we must prepared to reckon because of its congestion work ; and of course, Bengal's separation we greatly enhance such a probability. Our memorialist point out that, they are so deeply impress by the immense advantage they enjoy and great benefit they have experienced, through the local judicial tribunals being subject to our High Court at Calcutta, that it is impossible to .... without dismay, any prospect of a loss of protect of their rights, privileges, and liberties hithert occured to them. A substituted tribunal, they properly submit, will fall short of that high standard of efficiency, of experience, of learning and of dependence that our High Court represents. As if this were so, as we fear must inevitably be included, another question must present itself, and is, how deterioration would react upon our subordinate judiciary, which would palpably degenerate and it is to be feared, in a greater ratio. It is a matter of vital significance, that will not of a compromise. Looking also to Assam, we note judicial and magisterial functions are not uncombined in a single official. Thus, in its admninstration, Assam presents features radically distinct from and different to our Bengal system. It would surely not be to create a more independent, or efficient method of administration, but rather to confuse complicate what now obtains as a dual and ... method, whilst still dependent upon Bengal for best officers, a drain Bengal would naturally pose, nor would Assam improve matters by confining as a newly-organized Province, to own service. In Bengal as regards civil justice questions of land tenure are, of all others most difficult to deal with, from their complex and our Bengal rent law is most intricate, so that, these often tax our officers to their capacity to grapple. In Assam, officers trained to .. with far simpler laws and usages prevailing would find themselves frequently at a nonplus, .. to decide such questions as arise in Bengal, as a necessary result, efficiency of our judicial service would suffer materially—a state of affairs greatly to be deprecated. And this would be but one result. Criminal justice would also be affected injuriously ; .. Here, trial by jury prevails, and has prevailed for a long range of years, and this clearly-defined right, might, and probably would be. lost to those districts of partitioned Bengal, did our Chief-Commissioner so determine. Every precaution in guar-

ding against error of prejudice, would thus be ruthlessly abolished, and trial by jury become a dead letter, in cases that are properly triable by a Sessions Court. More than this. Separation of judicial and executive functions, so long regarded as a desideratum in administering justice, and for which, people in these districts have waited with such longing expectancy, would then be delayed longer than ever, if indeed, a prospect of consummation remained. Amalgamation would but induce conformity, in these districts, with what now obtains in Assam, and under Lord Curzon's partition scheme, administration of criminal justice would deteriorate to a hideous pantomime. And bad as these conditions would be, when forced upon Bengal, they would hardly be worse than a separation of Bengalee-speaking communities into two different administrations. Bound in ties of fraternity by one language, possessing a common literature, linked by social, religious and educational ties, welded into amalgamation by identical laws. under one Government, possessed of common aspirations, political interests and social institutions, they form a unit it would be cruel and unjst to sever, especially, as this severance would mean a loss to East Bengal of that powerful co-operation and support of their influential brethren in more western districts, with whom they—have made common cause for generations past, in all matters that affect their mutual interests. Lord Curzon told us that people of Bengal would not suffer by creation of two distinct units in two different centres, and that people in East Bengal, owing to their numerical and intellectual superiority, would occupy a dominant, rather than a subordinate, position in his proposed new administration, but it is very extensively, if not unexceptionally felt that, a severance of that intimate relationship with our Metropolitan that holds them so closely together, would undoubtedly retard their advancement, by depriving them of that mutual help, co-operation, guidance and sympathy they now enjoy, by union with their western brethren. A metropolis is understood, in every civilised land, to be a centre of enlightenment, cultivation, concentration of political activity, and a focus of public opinion, whence radiates that social and political influence, which consolidates power, and retains in a compact federation, those units of provincial patriotism and intelligence, that hold a people together. Loss of intimate and continuous touch in this direction, would produce a relaxation of incentive and a weakening of responsive chords that link parts to a whole. This, in substance, is an argument our memorialists employ in their protest to our Lieutenant-Governor, and, it seems to us, upon a sound principle of reasoning.

13.4.1904

PARTITION

Along with other cogent objections to dismembering East Bengal, is a strong argument put forward, that should command attention, and it has reference to an incongruity that could scarcely have escaped Lord Curzon and his advisers. Amalgamation of districts such as Dacca and Mymensingh, with Assam, it is alleged, will carry with it a sense of degradation. To support this contention, several reasons are assigned. Sir William Hunter, in writing of this district, remarked : —"This tract of country formed the eastern-most district of Bengal .... Eastwards, the broad stream of the Megna always served as a barrier against the wild aboriginal races, whose names are preserved in the dynasties of Tipperah and Cachar." Unquestionably, it is a fact that, for generations, we may, within due limits say, for centuries, Assam has been regarded as a jungly country and her population, consisting of semi-barbarous tribes and races, esteemed totally unfit to fraternise with their near neighbours in eastern and north-eastern Bengal, and Bengalees, in their least advanced state of culture, have looked down upon Assamese, as a people without a recognised literature, or easily-defined religion, of habits, social institutions, civil laws, traditions, and all that contributes to constitutional solidity, very unlike and very inferior to their own. And that they had good reason, so to regard them, history amply testifies, and there is abundant evidence to show that, repugnances to intercourse was not born of an unfounded aversion, or a passing prejudice, but that it stood upon a strong foundation of rational principle, struggling for development into higher life. To bring into forcible political contact, with a view to ulterior amalgamation, or at least, unification, a highly-cultivated people like those inhabiting these eastern districts, with unenlightened tribes and races like Assamese—who, though different to their aboriginal forefathers, are still far behind people of Bengal—would be to degrade them socially, and in course of constant proximity with them, there would ensue for Bengalese not only a gradual estrangement from their brethern in Western districts, but an assimilation in habits and manners, with there more or less wild tribes and races, that have for ages been looked down upon socially, and as regards a closer association with them, it would assuredly imply widening estrangement with their own brethren, nearer allied to them by ties of religion, long years of association and also, of kindred. They justly urge :—

"The tract a person resides in, has always a determining effect in the eyes of Hindu society as to his social status. Their ideas of caste and social disabilities vary greatly from those of Europeans.

by whom they are very imperfectly understoodl. Your memorialists would ask permission to cite as instances of social rupture and severance, in the fact that the Brahmans of Bengal and of Orissa, or of Behar, and the North-Western Provinces, have no intermarriages and would not even touch each others food, although originally, they came from the same stock. your memorialists earnestly solicit Government not to adopt a step which cannot but have the effect of such a rupture of immemorial social ties."

Regarded from a social standpoint by Hindu society, a more forcible argument, we are told by those who understand such question, would be hardly possible, and it is but one of many of irresistible emphasis. Another comes following close on its heels, and it is so with all that have preceded. It was pleasant, no doubt, to hear Lord Curzon telling us, in his well-rounded periods that, regard it as we will, amalgamation with Assam must mean for Bengal progressive development, and as Bengal would carry to Assam a larger and more enlightened population than her own, she would, as a natural result, absorb Assam, not Assam her. Well, nobody started any such laughable ... and Lord Curzon's erection of a house of cards only to demolish it, is an old trick in diplomacy. It has all along been contended that, political fraternity with peoples inferior in every respect to our cultivated and aspiring classes in Bengal, must necessarily have a deteriorating effect. Though it may not compel them to adopt Assamese as their language, in ordinary intercourse, not force them to denationalise themselves, still that a levelling effect will ere long, make its influence felt, is self evident. History is prolific in examples of rough, rude tribes causing degeneracy amongst those of more refined and better-cultivated manners, and were it even not so, were Lord Curzon's prediction ture—"You will improve and elevate them to your own level ; not sink to theirs ;" and were our Chief Commissioner's reasonably contend that, it is no part or their duty to improve and educate other provinces to their standard. "There is not a shred of obligation" they say, "on our part, to constitute ourselves involuntary, or voluntary missionaries for reclaiming Assam from her ignorance, and political, or spiritual inferiority, and to raise her to our own status. She has her own resourcess, we have ours, and on its very surface, any attempt to make Bengal a stepping stone for Assam, would be a manifest injustice." We do not pretend these are their very words, but they convey in a general spirit, what is felt in this matter, that they are to be sacrificed to Assam's needs, if only as a substituted atonement, for a possibly unavoidable backwardness, for which they cannot in any way be held accountable. What Bengal desires most is to be unhampered. She has

fought her way to her present development, and it would be unfair, now, to place a drag upon her energies to benefit others, who, by reason of less money, less energy, or less enterprise, have kept stages behind her. Beyond this it is felt that, dismemberment will mean to her not only obsturction to progress, but a distinct retrogression. Her career onwards will not only be retarded, but made retrograde, she must retrace her steps, till Assam can be reached in her backward development. This is hard indeed. government appears to have lost sight of a great distinction—that between levelling *up*, and levelling *down*. Whatever necessity there may be for Assam to be levelled up, we trust we are not wrong in our conviction that, there is none whatever, for Bengal to be levelled down. And that Bengal would suffer materially in her educational interests also, by annexation with Assam, we think will not admit of any doubt. Assam has a lower standard of education than Bengal ; she does not possess any college for technical education, and of late, but two Arts Colleges have been established there. In Lord Curzon's new scheme, Assam would still be without properly-equipped Colleges, or academic institutions that could adequately furnish for partitioned Bengal, educational establishments equal to her requirements, nor upon an existing rate of pay, could she hope to better her teaching staff. Our Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, draws two thousand five hundred rupees monthly, as salary, whilst in Assam, that office carries with it an income fifty perecent. less, and principals, professors, headmasters, & Co., are in receipt of stipends proportionately lower than their brethren in Bengal. Thus, attraction being absent, men of equal ability would not be drawn to Assam to serve for emoluments arranged, upon some mysterious basis of calculation, at half their equivalent in Bengal, for no conceivable reason. Assam has but one officer our Imperial Education Service, and would, by amalgamation, add but three more, whilst she would be unable to offer those general scholarships awarded on results of Matriculation and First Arts examination that offer so great an attraction and are so strongly incentive to students in Bengal, in a competition in which, success is our only standard of comparison,

16.4.1904

PUBLIC MEETING

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—I hear that a large meeting was held at Jagannath College recently, by Hindoos against the partition of Bengal. There were presently I hear, two Musalmans only, one a common shopkeeper's son, a *dalal*. He calls himself a moonshi. He proposed—so I

am told— a resolution in which he warmly advocated union with Hindoo brothers. It is true, Musalmans are not disappointed at this matter, because he is a half-Mussulman only, and it is his habit to talk at public meetings for what he can gain. As a Congresswalla Bengalee Baboo, arrived here from Calcutta, and was engaged to speak at this meeting, this moonshijee and Baboojee are fellow-spirits. People know them thoroughly. This congresswallah Baboo, a few years ago, opened a Congress shop to draw money from Baboos. Now, again, he aims to open another shop, to discuss the partition of Bengal. It is for his own interest, wholly and solely. Many ignorant Hindoos regard him as little short of a deity. I ask my Hindoo friends why should they not use foreign manufactures, and by whose authority do they discard them? They do not remember that the British Government is our master, and they are all servants and eat its salt. To be at comity with their *bap map* proves them to be *nimuckharam.* Mr. Editor, when they do not use any English goods, then why do they wear English pantaloons, coats, and shoes, and why do they teach the English language? It is not their ancestors dress and knowledge. Formerly, a person of a respectably class. used *dhotes* and *chuddars,* which are their forefathers dress. I think they have forgotten the history of Emperor Aurungzib, who was their hard master. Now I beg our kind-hearted and excellent British Government to teach them their proper place like our Mogal Emperor. I hope in a few days, our British Government will enact a commercial repressive law and give them their deserts. Also. I beg our British Government to publish a notification in the *Gazette of India,* to stop their poojah vacation, then they will not forget the name of our present Vicerory till they die.

6th Sep., 1905. Yours faithfully, MOSLEM

[But it is not official Baboodom that is in rebellion. Why should these unfortunate officials lose their holidays? Ed. B. T.]

2.9.1905

COMPARATIVE

Well may Lord Curzon exclaim, in contemplating his partition scheme, as he ponders over this immense province of Bengal, *Jacta est alea.* Of him, principally, may it be said, that he alone, of all previous Viceroys, has posed as an empire-founder upon a *tiny* scale, though it is due to modesty alone, that we do not claim for our new province—much larger in teritorial area, in population,

richer in material prosperity, and in political interest, than any German State, or any State in America's thirteen feudatories—something of more consequence in federated status than can be implied by *tiny*, since nothing is tiny about it, with its imposing mountain ranges, its immense rivers, broad and deep, running in resistless torrents seawards, its smiling valleys and boundless tracts of virgin-soil, yet untouched by plough or harrow, to be counted by thousands of square miles. There is not any part of our steadily developing province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, though not yet known under its new designation, that can be associated with such a term, as conveys any idea of insignificance. She is vast in her proportions, and we feel sure is destined to become so, in a growth of material wealth, and political importance and dignity of which no one has yet formed any conception, as an agricultural, a mining, and a commercial centre for capital, enterprise and ambition. Since then, so far as her future fortunes are involved, these are her undisputed advantages, we have good reason to employ Ceasars words and say—'the die is cast"—not in reference to desperate, but to hopeful and brightening prospects. And in this connection, it may perhaps be of some interest to quote a few opinions of former Lieutenant-Governors, on Bengal's adaptation to this new territorial re-adjustment, and with it, comming opportunities, that we trust may prove stepping-stones to greatness. upon this momentous question, one or two opinions from men who have legislated for Bengal, and have experienced obstructions in past years, maynot be out of place, since to them, more than to untried individuals, it is likely that difficulties in an uncertain, though we feel confident, substantially prosperous future, are likely to occur. Writing from Naters (?) Switzerland Sir Charless Elliot says :—

"I fear I cannot in this holiday resort, and at a distance from books of reference, say anything of much value on the subject of the Bengal partition, and I am reluctant to criticise the decisions of the Government of India on imperfect information. But I may say generally that, from the Government point of view as far as the efficiency of the administration is concerned, that there is no doubt that, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is overweighted, and the Chief-Commissioner of Assam could bear a heavier burden. I speak of what I know, having held both posts. It is natural, therefore, to propose that the latter should take over part of the charge of the former. This being so, it is better that the disruption should be a large one, so as to divide the respective areas more equally. The original proposal to give over the Chittagong division to Assam, went a very little way in that direction, and even the addition of the Dacca division was insufficient. But now, with the Rajshahi

division (minus Darjeeling) handed over, the relief to Bengal will be material, and the Eastern Lieutenant-Governorship will be established on a sufficient scale to give it dignity and importance."

No one doubts Sir Charles's capacity for offering an opinion on this most serious point, but it must be admitted that, after all has been said, he has not up to our quotation, as far as it goes, offered any independent view. What he declares with guarded caution is that, there cannot be uncertainty as to what Government has offered as its opinion, to which it still holds, but rightly or wrongly, Sir Charles does not say. He does not tell us frankly—In such and such directions, I found myself overweighted as Lieutenant-Governor—nor does he suggest any kind or class of remedy. Upon these points, he is unaccountably silent, merely reflecting an opinion that partition is considered a general problem of administration in a form with which we have long been familiar, and that is precisely what we do not invite him to enlighten us about. Then he continues :—

"With respect to the feelings on the subject of the people who are to be transferred, I do not like to say much, as I have seen nothing more than the very meagre telegraphic summaries in the "*Times.*" I have never known any proposal for transfer or change of boundary approved by those concerned, on however small a scale to may have been ; but experience shows that before long the discontent passes away when they find how little they are personally affected. The tranfer of the Delhi division to the Punjab is a case in point. It was bitterly disliked at the time but in the later years of my residence in India, it was completely acquiesced in. In the present case, I quite understood the objection felt by those who were to be transferred to a smaller Administration. But I thought the arguments used by the Viceroy at Dacca, that their "*status*" would be raised by the creation of a capital at Dacca and the annexation of Assam to it, would have carried more weight than they seem to have done."

There cannot be a question that discontent arose in Bengal in its inception, because Government in an unwary moment, allowed it to be supposed that Bengal was to be tranferred to Assam, not Assam to Bengal ; and, indeed, one great and absorving cause of disappointment and sorrow was that, a prosperous province like East Bengal, with its developing educational institutions, its agricultural resources, its material healthfulness of developing various mines of unexplored wealth, should be annexed, owing to considerations of territorial growth and expansion, to a province younger than itself, and in every respect, its inferior, politically, statisti-

cally, commercially, and, in all other ways, calculated to act—which it still is in a measure—as a drag upon Bengal. That was a source of grief and humiliation, and even to-day it will be found that Bengalees of this part, at all events, are greatly averse to being territorially associated with Assamese. Then Sir Charles continues in a sentimental strain, with which we can very well dispense, thus :

"I very much regret anything which sets the people of Central and Eastern Bengal in opposition to the Government scheme, but it is only those on the spot who are capable of judging what the depth and reason-ableness of that opposition are, and whether undoubted administrative advantages ought to give way to it. No one is in such a position to form a judgment on this matter as Sir Andrew Fraser, and I feel that his career and his sympathy with the people justify my confidence that, his judgment will be sound, and that a course of action he approves will not be worng."

Decidedly, Sir Charles's views should be valuable since he has ruled both Assam and Bengal as Chief-Commissioner and as Lieutenant-Governor, respectively, yet we should like our readers to have something beyond a mere reflex of official views ; indeed we may say, a mere distillation of them through Sir Charles's mind, in reference to what he saw and felt, while in India, hence we borrow an opinion that will carry with it a cheerful recollection of happier days for Bengal than she has lately known. Sir Charles Stevens, writing from Lyndhurst, says :—

"I think that the resolution regarding the partition of Bengal, is not open to all the objections (obvious enough) which were brought against the original scheme. Those which remain are (1) that the changes in Chota Nagpur present no advantages commensurate with the dislocation of administration which they cause, (2) that the very strong feeling which the partition of Bengal Proper has elicited has been disregarded ; and (3) that the expense of the proposed changes is very serious, and has been undertaken, apparently, at least, in a light hearted way. There are numerous objections of detail, which it would seem to be of little use to urge now."

We hope to continue this in our next.

13.9.1905

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COUNTER-BOYCOTT

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—I am surprised that no Englishman has yet come forward publicly to counter-boycott by a detarmination not to purchase

native-manufactured articles, and thus to prove that, native-manufactured goods are not necessary for British consumption, and thus, also, put down a system that started in folly and stupidity, but is being continued in direct opposition to the will of Government—a form of sedition most disgraceful to all concerned in promoting it. Whatever the Government has published *as law*, however distasteful, or even objectionable to its subjects, is as much to be respected, as any other enactment of law extant, and anybody trying to infringe its provisions or to obstruct its operation, commits an offence that should be promptly and severely punished. I think that, if Government is in any way annoyed by this Swadeshi imposition, or by any other similar mischievous device, they should introduce an act under which, schoolboys, students, and others may be whipped for a first and second offence, in addition to being fined and whipped, and fined and imprisoned for every subsequent offence. This kind of legislature would soon take the nonsense out of them, and give their leaders a wrinkle as well. After the sound and beautiful articles you have written in your famous journal, for which Government should reward you, I am surprised any sane man can keep us even a show of encouraging boycotting. I consider it disgraceful that such sedition-mongers should be allowed their way, in corrupting poor, ignorant schoolboys and students, who follow them like flocks of sheep, without understanding that they are being made puppets of, and their future prospects destroyed by selflesh agitators, who do not hesitate to sacrifice them to their own present purposes.

8th Sep., 1905. — Yours faithfully,
HONESTY

[You are quite right. None but ignorant boys are led astray. Ed. B. T.]

13.9.1905

GOING ARMED

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—If unoffending Englishmen are to be assailed by Bengalee Boycotting heroes, in a proportion of seven hundred to one—odds a Bengalee considers about fair when his contrymen attack ours—I should strongly advise my countrymen to go about armed with sticks and to use them freely, if need be. In Mr. Prentice's place, I should have retaliated without compunction, though not in fear of my life, or a fracture of my limbs. If a mob, ranging from fifty to seven hundred and fifty, were to attack me, ... some with stones,

most of them shouting, yelling and gesteculating angrily, I think I should be safe in concluding that, my life was threatened ; hence, that I was justified in defending it against assault, it is shameful that we should be living in such times, and amidst such surroundings ; nevertheless, life is dear to all, and self-preserva-tion is a, if not *the* primary law of nature, amidst all castes, colours and creeds. I appeal to you, Sir, and—knowing you to be versed in law—through you to justice, to tell me how it would be regarded in public opinion, if, in such a case as I have described, I should be so unhappy as to injure a man seriously. Would public feeling be with me? Or should I be condemned as one of those rampagious Britishers, reckless of human bloodshed, supposed to delight in shooting natives as one might so many crows and kites? I should really like to know.

7th Sep., 1905.

Yours faithfully,
BRITISHER

P. S. In the district where I reside, natives are getting so overbearing, especially, amongst students, that it is just a toss-up with some of us, how to control our tempers under extreme provocation.

[Native are very provoking at times, and one is tempted to go for them, but that is neither wise not temperate ; their abominable lies are often humourous, though very irritating. To kill a man in self-defence, of whatever nationality he may be, is not, I think, illegal. Ed. B. T.]

DISAPPOINTED STUDENTS

On Tuesday—yesterday week—many students attended Dacca College without shoes. They were told by their Principal that their costume being different to that hitherto adopted, and as he considered unbecoming, they could not be allowed to appear in it in class. of course, their usual fiction was resorted to, that they were in mourning. They were promptly informed that a college is not a place for such displays, and that they must attend their classes properly attired, or not at all. Some went home, we hear, and dressed themselves becomingly ; some were written down absent. We are glad Mr. Browing has shown he is not one who will suffer himself to be imposed upon by schoolbly devices.

13.9.1905

SWADESHI ROWDYISM

One native gentleman, a young man of considerable personal intelligence, who informed us he was ably and strongly supported by others, told us very recently, that this Swadeshi movement of which, we have heard so much, is merely a pantomime, and will soon die a natural death. he asked gravely :—"Who has yet given a

pice towards it, except on paper? If any one has received any money, it is not known. It is all talk and show. Can schoolboys support such a movement, or any rich Bengalee Baboo exist in Bengal, except under protection of British bayonets? Our young Bengalees, for the sake of agitation and sensational notoriety, will do anything. I predict a near collapse for this movement, or a retaliation will come, and that may be worse." Our informant was about right.

13.9.1905

OPEN REBELLION

To the Editor, Bengal Times

Sir, I am told that last monday evening a large number of Hindoo school boys, at least six hundred or seven hundred, were having a *sankirtan*, singing and shouting on the public road, and making a great and disorderly noise. They were accompanied by a police constable as guard. From time to time, they loudly exclaimed *Hindoo ke jye! Mussalmau ke jye!* meaning victory of Hindus, and Mussulmans. Do they think that it is Raja Bicramaditt's reign or have they gained any war over our British Government in Partition of Bengal? And why Mussulman *ke jye?* Mussulmans are not *nimuckharams* to make a quarrel with their masters, and are not so dishonest as to dances and jump about and noise their joy from one street to another, like low caste people, such as *domes* and *chamars*, as they do at *Holi* time. And why has our district-Magistrate given them permission to be so clamorous on public roads? Is it lawful? Should our Magistrate not remember the case of a Howrah joint-Magistrate, Mr. Prentice, and what happened by students assaulting him, as I here? If our Magistrate did not give permission, then by whose authority did these rowdies make such a disturbance on a public road? When we see Hindoo students thus behaving how can any one think them dear to our hearts? Mussulmans beg our British Government, when Hindoos refuse to use English goods, to discharge them from office, and stop their education in Government schools and Colleges. Baboos are doctors, pleaders, mukhtears and they are also high caste, Chatterjee, Banerjee and other families. Do they never drink their swadeshi wine. Which *moochees* and *mehtars* drink? Then where is their Swadeshi scheme? Should our Hindoo fellow-subjects not leave off this boycotting play with Government, they will ere long be stranded. Mussulmans treat it with scorn, and are sure it will fall to pieces very soon.

13th Sep., 1905.

Yours faithfully,
NIMUCKHALAL

BOYCOTTING

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir—I hear from your quarter that eight hundred students have left off their studies, and have taken to strutting about your streets, threatening shopkeepers and purchasers. though they are not able to say what calamity is in store for them, and as there is nothing, both classes may rest satisfied that, if there is any mischief brewing, it will recoil upon its authors, before they have time to hurl it against their victims. Shopkeepers are now passing off English-manufactures for *deshi*, and I feel sure that this manouvre will not be long resorted to, as its ncessity will have passed. No revolutionary movement every yet succeeded through violence, and none ever will. A shopkeeper is not frightened on being told that, if he acts legally, something dreadful will befall him. He wants to know what that something is, and if attempts are made at open illegality, those attempting to act illegally will fare badly. I am assured that, unless Hindoos behave very differently, they will, ere long, come into conflict with Mahomedans, who are pledged to administer such a lesson as will be remembered for some time to come. Matters are approaching a crisis, I fear, and should such a collision on a large scale occur, there will be a heavy slaughter of the assailants (not innocents) who are being closely watched. I think it is a pity such constant cause should be given for apprehension. Surely, a man has a right to purchase any class of goods he likes, so long as he does it honestly and in an openly-recognised way of business. Who are these Hindoo students to dare to dictate to any man, how to lay out his money? I hear they fell foul of some shoemakers a few days ago, who chased them away rather roughly. There are many tales afloat—one can scarcely believe what one hears. It is not respectable to be mixed up in such squabble. No good object can possibly be gained, but trouble is sure to follow. I thought Dacca students were young men of intelligence, not puppets of designing persons, weak enough to be led astray to make a display of rowdyism and blackguardism, but it seems they are too careless of their reputation to retain a spark of self-respect.

23rd Sep., 1905.

Yours faithfully,
PEACE AND GOODWILL

27.9 1905

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PICNIC

It would appear that the natives are very fond of Picnics during the cold weather. Almost every afternoon crowds of Natives, both male and female, one soon going to, and returning from the romantic localities near the old cantonments and race-course, after thoroughly themselves enjoying.

5.1.1876

CRICKET

We regret to learn that the cricket match—Eastern Bengal vs Calcutta—has resulted in favour of the latter. The scores of the Eastern Bengal eleven, in both innings, came upto only 170 : whilst the opposite sides total for a single innings was 317. A totally different result was expected from our Dacca cricketers[৭৮].

8.1.1876

CRICKET

Last Monday we witnessed a grand match on the cricket ground, 'Station vs Outsiders', which ended in the total defeat of the latter by over a hundred runs. Mr. Peacock alone made 70 runs on the station side, while Mr. Bedford made a score of 51 for the Stangers. The former is an exceedingly pretty player, not that he is remarkable for hard hitting, but he has such a fine style of driving the ball in wherever he finds an opening in the field, that it affords one pleasure to see him play. Perhaps he inherits his style of playing from his father, who is reported to have been a fine cricketer of the good old days. But to return to our subject. At about 2 pm. numbers of ladies and gentlemen sat down and did simple justices to a sumptous tiffin presided by our former commissioner, after which the cricket was resumed, and continued until sunset. In the evening the ladies and gentlemen played Badminton on the ground, when refreshment were served round.

22.1.1876.

NAUTCH

Baboo Mohiney Mohun Dass had a nautch and supper at his dwelling on wedness day evening last, to which many of the European gentlemen of the station were invited.

8.4.1876

HINDOO HOSTEL

Owing to an insufficiency of boarders, the Hindoo hostel will shortly be closed. We had hoped to see institution flourished, and we believe it gave promise. For a short interval in its carrear, of gaining strength and stability in the future.

8.4.1876

DACOITEES IN LOWER BENGAL

While the South West monsoon prevails, it is customary for native craft to seek shelter in the numerous khals and inlets to be found in the large rivers that flow through the various districts of Bengal, and as the evening closes in, it is no unusual sight to see a fleet of boats moored in this wise in smooth water, out of reach of the boisterous weather to be encountered in the large rivers that are the nighways of country boat traffic, in this part of the country. Such a sight is common in the khals between Dacca and Comillah, where there is a frequent gathering of country craft towards nightfall, with the double object of shelter from the elements and protection against the attacks of dacoits, itinerant bands of which are in the habit of scouring the country in search of plunder. About a fortnight or so back, an incident arose which demonstrated the necessity for unceasing vigilance by the police in the vicinity of such khals, and the expediency of prompt action in the investigation of crime. Towards the dead of night, on the occasion to which we allude, a band of dacoits had seized a boat and fastened a tow-line to her. Undisturbed in their midnight depredations, these river Lambros were deliberately dragging their prize out of the khal, when, roused from their peaceful slumbers by an unusual commotion, the boatmen awoke and instantly raised an alarm. Not a soul, however, had the courage to render aid, or encounter the marauders, and thus left helpless. the victims fastened a line to the boat's stern and pulled might and main to deaden her way. Nowhere perhaps out of Bengal could the novel sight be witnessed of men pulling a boat backwards—that had been picked out of a whole fleet—to prevent her being plundered by an attacking party ; but truth is often stranger than fiction. Failing in their attempt

forcibly to keep possession of their property, the defending heroes raised they cry of *Dohai Maharanee, Dohai Kompanee*, and stimulated by their desperate condition and the hopelessness of any adventitious help, pulled and vociferated alternately, till they tired the patience of their assailants, who, after casting the most painful and distressing aspersions on the females of the families of boatmen generally and of these unfortunates in particular for many generations back, for the resistance they had encountered, were coolly betaking themselves to some more promising reprisal, when one of their number, inspired by a happy thought, shouted out "fire a gun." Hearing this, the boatmen scampered for dear life, leaving their boat and its belongings to the tender mercies of the spoilers, who, after a fair division of booty, on the principle probably of "honour among thieves" with unparalleled magnanimity returned the boat and its *impedimenta* to the owners. Next morning, setting sail from the creek, the plundered men made for Brahman barriah, their native village, and there gave information of their case. It happened unfortunately for the complainants that, the officer in charge of the section was absent on duty and consequently no information could be received. Next day—the 2nd instant—their complaint was recorded, and, after two days had elapsed, that is on the 4th instant, some brilliant and gifted geninus made the important discovery that, the dacoity having been committed on the Dacca side of the river, the Comillah police had no authority to move in the matter. On the day following, the Dacca police arrived, only to find that five days having elapsed from the commission of the dacoity the chances of anything like successful elucidation had diminished to zero ; and thus the case at present stands. As a matter of fact, an offence may be investtigated in any district and by any magistrate, and when a doubt arises as to locality, supposing the perpetration to have taken place on the confines of two districts, either magistrate may institute proceedings, or the police take up the investigation, subject to transferring the case to the Magistrate before whom it may eventually be sent for trial ; but where in every village a Solon arises, not to interpret the law, but to apply it after his own fashion, distorted through the medium of his sense of personal importance, it is discouraging for those upon whom falls the brunt of the work and the subsequent responsibility of failure. Coming to the facts, we ascertain that the dacoity was committed at *Chor* Degoldee, admittedly within the jurisdiction of Dacca, and, had a complaint but been lodged at the nearest thana, or had the Comillah police acted with promptitude, it is more than probable that justice would have overtaken the tranagressors, but technica-

lities rather above and beyond the grasp of a head inspector unfortunately opposed themselves and the result—to the dacoits—has been unspeakably satisfactory. The mischief is that, a report of this dacoity must go up to head-quarters in due form, and will count among the offences committed in the Dacca Division. The imputation of failure will be credited to the Dacca police, who in fact had nothing to do with the failure, took no part in tracing the delinquents, and could not possibly have taken part, till the chances of discovery and capture, as we have shown, were mythical. Now if the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal should contemplate placing a case of this nature within the category of those for which it is purposed to hold the District Matistrate and the District Superintendent responsible, we fear these two functionaries will find that the public service is by no means a bed of roses, but by far more prolific in number than rupees. Such incidents, we fear, must occur, where, on frontier boundaries, the police elects to stand upon absurd punctilios and sentimental misgivings of precedence. The only possible remedy we can suggest is a wellorganised River-Police, but then the frightful financial bugbear of No Assets bars the way, as the coach of the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer ever does, in every question of utility and administrative reform.[৭৯]

15 4 1876

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS

Joy. The quotation is from Byron's *Don Juan.* It has no application in your case.

Gooroo. The schoolmaster is abroad with a vengeance. We have seen the composition. Can yon offer your services as turor, or is the person too exalted?

Libel. It is a matter of indifference to us. The revenge that can shape itself into such meanness is unworthy the attention of men, though it may do for very weak-minded women and small boys.

Jakob. Your letter was unnoticed last issue, because it was not authenticated. It is not suitable to our columns. We do not deal in filth. Try some other paper. There is another paper in Dacca, which profeses to be published in English, but we must decline to offer any opinion upon its merits, allowing it to possess any.

Inquirer. A born gentleman generally looks what he is. Your hero looks like a barber's apprentice. Little men rarely rise to

greatness of mind. Nature likes symmetry and consequently rarely suffers a small man to do great things, or think great thoughts. Of course there are brilliant exceptions. Your letter is too long for publication and to say truth, we do not quite see the object of it. Your style is tolerable for a Native or an East Indian, but not pure enough for a European. You have not sufficient knowledge of idiom, and it is evident your models are not what you represent them.

13.5.1876

THE IMPERIAL PROCLAMATION

The Year of grace, 1877, was most auspiciously ushered in, throughout the length and breadth of this vast country, by the public Proclamation of the title, "Empress of India," which our beloved Sovereign has been graciously pleased to assume.[৮০]

No more fitting occasion, than the opening day of the New Year, could have been chosen for the ceremony. From this important era in India's Political History, may we, in time to come, be able to mark the inauguration of an age distinguished by advance and reform in her Social History also. Long may the blessings of a powerful, wise, and beneficent Government be ours ; so shall we ever enjoy peace, order, and contentment, while love and good-will towards men shall reign supreme throughout the land.

Where festivity and rejoicing was the order of the day, Dacca was not likely to be behind-hand. Officials and non-officials, all classes indeed, roused themselves to do honour to the occasion and by their combined efforts transformed our rather uninteresting city into a gay garden. The Buckland Bund, and principal roads and streets were lined with Venetian masts, linked together with wreaths of evergreens, and tastefully decorated with banners and mottoes. Flags in profusion surmounted the chief public buildings, and were displayed from almost every housetop while crowds of natives in their many-colored costumes, all bent on holiday making, rendered the scene both gay and busy. Well-deserved thanks are due to the Decoration Committee, and specially, to Mr. H. M. Weathrall, our District Superintendent of Police, who spared neither time nor trouble to ensure success.

But let us to the "Shah Bagh" in which beautiful grounds, thrown open for the day by the Nawab Abdul Guni Meah[৮১] and Khajah Ahsun Oliah,[৮২] the Durbar is to be held. Here, seated in a handsome, marble floored Pavilion, we find some 300 or 400 of the leading members, European and native, of the community.

while the beauty and fashion of Dacca also grace the assembly with their presence. A detachment of the 10th N. I. under command of Capt. Swete, and a considerable body of the Bengal Police, are drawn up outside. Precisely at 12, the Commissioner, Mr. Peacock, arrives and takes his seat on a raised dais. After a few words, explanatory of the nature of the business before him, the Commissioner read, in English, the Imperial Proclamation announcing to her subjects in India, the assumption by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, of the title "Empress of India." This concluded, Babu Gunga Churn Sircar, Subordinate Judge, read a translation of the Proclamation in Bengali and Moulvi Obedollah.[৮৩] Head Master of the Madrissah, followed with a translation in Urdu. The Proclamation was received with loud and hearty cheers and the Regiment fired three *feus de joie*. A battery of 101 bombs was to have been fired, but the bombs were damp, and only 22 were exploded.

Certificates of loyalty and good service were then handed by the Commissioner to the following gentlemen, who have at various times obtained the approbation of Government of valuable services rendered to the State.

Mr. M. David
Babu. Sree Nath
" Rudhica Mohun Roy
" Kali Kishore Gohoo
" Kishory Lall Roy
" Gobind Chunder Dutta
" Kristo Kishore Podar.

The Commissioner then addressed the assembly in the following words.

"Before closing the Durbar, I desire to say a few words with regard to the ceremony at which you have been called upon to be present to-day ; and I would preface my remarks by saying, that they are addressed more especially to the Natives of this country ; because to them this day is one of peculiar interest. It is the wish of His Excellency the Viceroy, that this ceremony should not be regarded as a mere idle pageant, nor as in any way significant of a desire to encroach upon rights, liberties or privileges. In assuming the Title of Empress of India, Her Most Gracious Majesty seeks no new power and claims no fresh prerogative Her sole desire is the welfare and affection of her subjects. This Title, and the ceremonies with which it is proclaimed, are, in fact, the formal expression of what has long existed, and a public and emphatic declaration of feelings long entertained, of deep interest in the welfare of this great Dependency of the Crown, and confidence in

the loyalty and affection of the people of India. It is the reiteration of the sentiments uttered 18 years ago, in the Proclamation of 1858, when, in words of benevolence and mercy, Her Majesty graciously assumed the direct management of these Territories. In the Proclamation of to-day the words of that of 1858 are ratified ; the assurances therein given are unreservedly confirmed ; and throughout the length and breadth of the land, proof is publicly afforded of the Sovereign's concern for the wellbeing of her people, and her sense of the devoted loyalty evinced on the occasion of the visit to this country of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh, and of the visit of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, still fresh in our memories. It is the desire of Her Majesty and of Her Majesty's Government, to identify the Crown of England more closely than heretofore with the aspirations and interests of its Indian subjects, hoping thereby, to confirm their loyalty and to convince them., that, though Her Majesty can command their obedience, it is her wish rather to rule through their affections ; and that the administration of the country should be carried on with the sympathies of an United Empire. With this view it is, and will be, the constant aim of Her Majesty's Government to associate, so far as may be possible, intelligent and influential members of the community with the officers of Government in the business of administration : and to see that all the subjects of Her Majesty, of whatever race or creed, are impartially admitted to offices under Government, for the duties of which they may be qualified by their education and ability. Some of you present to-day, who have in various ways rendered special services to the Government and the country, have received, in recognition of those services, tokens of Her Majesty's approbation, which His Excellency the Viceroy trusts will be retained and handed down to your successors in remembrance of this occasion, and as a proof that loyalty and good services never go unrecognized and unrequited by Her Majesty's Government."

As before, Babu Gunga Churn Sircar and Moulvie Obaidollah read translations of the speech in Bengali and Urdu

With three hearty cheers for the Empress of India, led by the Commissiner and taken up by the Regiment and Natives outside. the Durbar was concluded and the assembly dispersed.

In the grounds of the Shah Bagh amusemants of various sorts were provided, and we understand upwards of 10,000 persons visited the gardens during the day. For the "upper tea" a sumptous tiffin was prepared, and we been scarcely add, was fully apprecia-ted ; while to the orthodox *utter* and *pan* were freely distributed.

On the Race Course outside the Shah Bagh, Natives by thousands were assembled, and there we found, in a neat enclosure, an Exhibition of Dacca produce, raw and manufactured, of flowers and vegetables and of a few cows and some poultry. A small alligator in a corner of the enclosure attracted considerable attention. The prize banquet came from Khajah Ahsan Oollah's garden "Dilkhoosha" ; and the best *dali* was sent by the Nawab Abdul Gani Meah. The various prizes awarded, a general rush was made towards the wrestling-ground ; and here some excellent sport was shown and applauded by the incessant "wah, wah" of admiring spectators, The 1st prize was carried of by a Punjabee, a fine, stalwart fellow, whose thews and sinews were a picture to look at. Various competitors entered the Plice and Sepoys. The wrestling ended, some clever sword play and acrobatic feats were shown ; and the crowd then settled themselves down to watch the ram and bull fights, of which the ram-fighting was good ; but we cannot say much for the pugnacious qualities of the bulls. They, poor brutes, seemed of extremely peaceful dispositions. By the time these combats were concluded it was past 5 o'clock, and the sight seers began to wend their way homeward. As darkness fell like a mantle over the city, bright gleams of light shone forth from almost every house ; and by 6 o'clock the whole city was in ablaze of illumination. From the river the spectacle was particularly fine ; the Bund being charmingly lighted up. Where so much good taste was displayed, it would be invidious to select any one design for special praise. Suffice it to say that, the Kutcherries, the Municipal Office, the Commissioner's house and even the ugly Racquet Court, were transformed, almost, into palaces of delight. In the evening the Commissioner gave a Ball, which was numerously attended by the *elite*, and dancing, to the strains of the Nawab's Band, was kept up with great spirit till far into the small hours.

On Tuesday afternoon, some capital Races, chiefly, for native tatoos, were held, and afforded excitement for the crowd and amusement for the spectators in the Grand Stand. One race was especially comical. Each rider had to carry an open umbrella, and the winner was required to bring in his umbrella unbroken. 'Gamps' of the gayest colors were distributed to the competitors, and our readers, who did not see the fun, can more easily imagine than we can describe, the ludicrous sight presented by 20 ponies, riders, and umbrellas flying along the Course. The lucky winner received, in addition to a money prize, all the umbrellas most of them broken, by the way.

For Wednesday, amusement was provided in the shape of Athletic Sports. Many of the athletes ran very well—the mile race

being done in capital time—but a ditch which had to be crossed in the steeple chase proved a trifle too wide and every competitor got a 'ducking'. This, of course, was real fun for the bystanders who screamed with delight as each victim assayed the jump, missed the opposite bank, and disappeared with a splash. The ditch was deep too, and the unfortunates could not climb up its slippary sides— the whole business was intensely laughable. Very amusing also was the *Ghurra* race. Each runner, having been blind folded, received a *ghurra* filled with water, which was placed on his shoulder. Off they started—collisions were necessarily frequent, and the winner, who ran capitally, not knowing he had passed the tape, went headlong, *ghurra* and all, into the crowd—such a smash!

In the evening, the Nawab and his son, Nawab Ahsonoollah, gave a ball, which was a great success.

The festivities on Thursday commenced with a Begatta. when, though the rowing was not quite up to University form, there were many well-contested races. The swimming and diving matches were good, and walking the greasy pole caused plenty of fun. The flag at the end of the pole was only secured after innumerable failures, and the winner well deserved his prize of Rs. 20.

At ½ past 6 a grand display of fireworks took place on the Chur : no better site could have been selected, and the Bund from end to end was thronged with spectators. The fireworks were remarkably good and did credit to the makers, who, we understand, are local pyrotechnists.

Here the rejoicings ended. So extensive a programme has probably never before been attempted in Dacca, and the warmest thanks are due to the Commissioner, the Collector, Khajeh Ahsun Oollah, and other gentlemen, who, sparing neither time, trouble nor expense, have so kindly devoted themselves to ensure the amusement of the people.

6 1.1877

PUBLIC MEETING

(Continued from last issue)

Nawab Khajeh Asun Oollah in proposing the Second Resolution, seized the opportunity of addressing some remarks in Hinduatani to his Native fellow-zemindars, whose acquaintance with the English language is slight. The young Nawab was understood to speak to the following effect, as far as our reporter could catch the purport of the address. We must admit that, upon its being shown to the Nawab, he could hardly acquiesce in the correctness of our

translation, and expressed unwillingness to be credited for the speech we have reported, but as we have nothing better to offer, we must ask the reader to accept it as an imperfect reproduction of a very excellent oration :— Gentlemen, you are all more or less aware of the object of this meeting, for, although you may have been unable to follow the previous speakers very closely, by reason of your inaccurate knowledge of the English language, you cannot be unaware of the principal purpose of our meeting here to-day. Gentlemen, a vast scheme is proposed to your judgment, one that may involve the outlay of a judgment, one that may involve the outlay of a hundred, or a hundred-and-fifty lakhs of rupees ; it is a project of immense utility, bringing in its train incalculable advantages to the people and the country. In all great centres of commerce, in every important capital city of the universe, and in every great political measure to which national prestige has given point and direction, steam power, usually in the form of railways, has been enlisted as a vital, motive agent. In the mobilisation of troops, in the conveyance of .... ships across the ocean, in the expansion of commerce and the promotion of friendly mercantile or political relations between countries, the steam-engine has been enlisted as an important and powerful auxiliary. In stimulating the peaceful arts of agriculture, in manufacture and in the mechanical arts, railways have contributed a very considerable share. Waste lands have been reclaimed, laid under cultivation and forced to yield their prolific treasures ; deserts, once the abode of the ravaging tiger, or the crafty serpent have been cleared and modelled into centres of intelligently-directed energy, and wild, desolate wastes that once resounded to the dismal screech of the nightowl now ring with the merry laughter of children and echo to the cheerful hum of industry. Within your own experience and observation, gentlemen, these are some of the results that have followed the civilizing, I had almost said, humanizing track of the railway, and the advantages of extended communication by rail in Eastern Bengal are so obvious even to the meanest capacity that, I will not offend your intelligence by entering upon a discussion of them in detail. Were there, instead of a hundred benefits, only one advantage in the purposed object of our meeting, viz. That of vitalizing the trade-sources of the province to expansion, I should still consider myself justified in emphatically advocating it, having in view the important truth that trade is the back-bone of a country's prosperity, and looking around me on the representatives of that great country towards which we all in common feel so kindly drawn by the ties of affection and loyalty, I cannot disguise from myself the feeling of admiration that is excited by a

consideration of the gigantic results to the world, political, scientific, and commercial, brought about by this nation of shop-keepers, this great trading people, who combine so many of the best qualities of the soldier, the statesman, the scholar, and have so endeared themselves to us by their generous sympathies and their manly virtues. If, gentlemen, the presence of the English in India to-day is a proof of what shop-keeping can achieve, then indeed, may we take heart of grace and bend our energies to the extension of our trade-sources in this province. Let us, in view of the many advantages a railway promises, not allow this opportunity to slip from our grasp of benefiting the country directly, and ourselves indirectly, by giving the scheme before us our hearty and substantial support. Let us not, I repeat, here after have to reproach ourselves for our apathy or luke-warmness when the finger of scorn shall be pointed at us. Let it not be laid to your charge, I beseech you, that, as natives of the country, you could suffer those possessing less interest in the land, pecuniarily and nationally, to step before you as pioneers of a splendid enterprise, while you lagged behind and allowed the anticipation of success to be realized by aliens, who, although our good and tried friends and fellow-subjects, sharing with us many interests and sympathizing with us in our loyalty and attachment to a common and beloved sovereign, are not the sons of the soil. And I must not omit to remind you that, the impetus you are now asked to impart to railway extension in this province cannot fail to benefit you in a variety of ways. Instead of having to seek for new sources of commerce for your energy, fields of enterprise will be transported to your very doors, and the trader, instead of seeking a channel for his speeculation, will be invited to utilise the currents flowing to his hand All that is now wanted for a beginning is capital, and that once obtained, the provice in a few months will be made to vibrate through every artery of her commercial energy. To the zemindar, I would observe the necessity for placing his land at the disposal of Government as a highway of traffic ; offer it freely, gentlemen, as a commercial thoroughfare for the iron horse. Let his snort be heard through the length and breadth of your zemindaries, the farther and louder, the better, for you may rest assured that, his advent implies a considerable rise in the value of your land. I am told that the purposed Government guarantee of 4 percent. represents but a very small return of what you may expect, within a reasonable time, for your capital. The investment will be lucrative, and I think I may with confidence add that, in time you will be ready to admit that it is one of the safest and best paying speculations in which you have ever embarked. I need not say more. If the landed and

commercial gentry will be but true to their own interests, there seems no reason to doubt that, the extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway will ere long become, not only an accomplished fact, but a solid and permanent success.

He then proposed the following :—

Res. II. "That the meeting approves of the direction it is proposed the line should take viz ; from Naraingunge to Shabhar and north or north-west from Shabhar to some point in the nothern part of the Mymensingh District, to be fixed upon after the results of the proposed survey are known—and that the meeting further desires to express its readiness to facilitated the general carrying out of the scheme by all means in its power."

Mr. A. Thoms, who seconded the resolution said :—

"In seconding the Resolution just proposed by Nawab Ahsunnollah, I shall only make a few brief remarks. I believe all (or most) of those present, are more or less alive to the very great general benefits that are derived by a country from the opening up in it of good means of communication, in the form of roads and railways. Deprived of these, stagnation reigns supreme. The cultivator of the soil finding no outlet for the disposal of his surplus produce, is content to go on, merely raising enough to supply his limited wants ; and his brains stagnate like his energies. He knows nothing of the advance of civilization, or comforts, which have become necessities to those more favoured. This stagnation, moreover, effects not only the peasant, but all the other members of the community, including the landholders, both large and small. I think it may be admitted as an axiom that, prosperity among the tenantry enhances the value of the land to the Landlords. Now, with extended means of intercommunication, not only increased demands for existing products arise ; but for others which it then becomes the interest of the cultivators, artisans, or manufactures to produce, to meet this new demand, and so it goes on increasing ; the prosperity of one section of the community reflecting itself on the whole. That this is no wild theory, has been amply proved by irresistible proof in every civilised country in the world. The proposed line of railway will be only the forerunner of an extension to the rich Province of Assam, passing through or by the Garrow Hills. In these, we have proved, that there is a rich supply of lime-stone and also coal ; while other valuable minerals no doubt wait only looking for to be discovered. The benefit to many of getting good and cheap fuel ; cheap lime ; which not only is wanted for building ; but when got cheap, is one of the most valuable manures we have for the land ; all of you could appreciate.

Without cheap means of transporting these minerals and other products, they must remain unworked and practically useless. Now to come to a very practical part. To make a railway, other things being found, requires the possession by the Railway Company or shareholders, of a strip of land, over which to construct their line—and here and there where there is a station and sidings, somewhat broader portions. Many of you have experienced similar requirements, when roads are being formed. if, however, a railway is so desirable, and will without doubt, in a few years enhance the value of the properties through which it passes; I would urge those landlords who are presant here, and those who are relations or friends of those who have any influence in the matter, that those through whose properties the line may pass, should not try to obstruct, by demanding large prices for the strip of land which may be required, but rather that they should give such a strip free of course where broader bits are required for sidings, & Co., if in valuable land, the price of the land ought to be taken into consideration, but otherwise, unless in some very exceptional cases, the Landlords would forward their own interests, as well as that of the country by giving the land and affording any other facilities in their power. I do trust that in this the Landlords will show themselves as liberal and enlightened men, and worthy of their country."

(To be continued)

8.12.1877

CORRESPONDENCE

THE NAWAB ASANOOLAH AND CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

To The Editor Of The Bengal Times

Sir,—The idea of the Calcutta Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, sending up a paid agent to Dacca, to arrest, and hand over the Nawab Assnoolah to the police, to be punished by them, for cruelty to animals, in aiding and abetting ramfights, is one, which, I trust the good people of Dacca will take energetic steps to prevent being carried into execution. It is indeed true that the agent could arrive on Monday, be present at the ram-fights on Tuesday, and hand over the Nawab to the police, but he could not return to Calcutta by Wednesday's steamer, for the simple reason that he would require to stay in town to prosecute. For, though, as was shown in an excellent speech, at the late meeting of the Philanthropic society, by Mr. Allen the Magistrate, (Who has been

doing such good service to the town by his energetic action regarding sanitary improvements,) that the Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals is not by any means allowed to remain a dead letter in Dacca, but that, on the contrary, gharry-wallahs have been both fined and imprisoned for driving horses with sores, yet it does not follow that it would be a matter of the greatest case for an agent of the Calcutta society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, to get a conviction against such a personage as the Nawab Asanoolah. And let the members of this society bear in mind, that while it is their duty to prevent cruelty to animals in general, and (it may be) to rams in particular, yet it is also their duty to avoid the perpetration of an act of horrid cruelty on the Nawab Asanoolah, who is not only one of the most generous members of the native aristocracy of Bengal, but also one of the most popular men in Dacca. Mind, I am not, for one moment, palliating the horrid cruelty, barbarity, and illegality of ram fights, They are a flagrant violation, of the Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals, they are everything that is and, and those who aid and abet them are both worthy, and in danger, of imprisonment, but still there is a serious but in the present case. The Nawab Asanoolah has gone to considerable expense to give the people of Dacca a treat, which, with the single exception of the ram-fights, must be confessed to be of a very excellent, and acceptable character. Are all the generosity and kindly forethought of a public-spirited native prince to count for nothing, because some ill adviser has stuck down ram-fights, as a part of the programme for the day's amusements? If the Calcutta society for the prevention of cruelty to animals object to the Nawab Asanoolah giving any countenance to ram-fights, let them say so plainly, and either write to him, or take some other sensible means of letting him know their views and intentions. But for the society to remain perfectly quiet till the first of January, and then, all of a sudden, without a moment's warning, to act with all the authority that the law gives them, against a man so exalted in rank, and so well liked as the Nawah Asanoolah, is very similar to the base conduct of robbers, who lie in ambush for a rich but unwary traveller. It is, no doubt, a very commendahle thing, as well as a thing intensely enjoyed by the English mind, to make a member of the aristocracy feel that, in the eye of the law, he does not stand on a higher level than the meanest beggar that crawls in rags and wretchedness before his gate ; but when this luxury is intemperately pursued, acts of great injustice are likely to be committed. And instead of being treated as a criminal for encourageing ram-fights, the Nawab Asanoolah deserves, and will most certainly receive, the gratitude of all who have ever enjoyed a

day's pleasure in the fine gardens that he and his father have so generously thrown open to the public.

A WARNING VOICE

[Our correspondent's logic is beyond us. If ram-fights are illegal, be who promotes them, whether noble or simple, ... the law and becomes abnoxious to its ...—what is sauce for the gooier is sauce for the gender ; may, we would think it more equitable that penalty should be apportioned according to the rank and intelligence of the offender—a light sentence for the poor and ignorant and a heavy one for the wealthy and intelligent and we have confidence among in the integrity of some of our Magisterial officers to believe that they would meet out justice exactly in this ratio Rank and wealth, lowliness and poverty have little or nothing to do with a breach of the law, except that the two first may sometimes be urged in aggravation, never in extensation of an illegal act. Were the theory to be established that a man's wealth and rank place him above the law, the most heinous crimes could be committed with impunity and the law be reduced to a dean letter by the wealthy and exalted in rank. But under British rule this can never be the case. What our correspondent means, therefore, by his letter, we fail to understand. We should be the first to laugh at the idea of our popular young Nawab committing an illegality after having advertised, in a public print, his intention to do so. He has already proved, by inviting the public to be present at the ram-fights, that he intends these contests to be merely so many harmless recreations for on-lookers, and the very fact of his inviting the general public to the exhibition—a public that necessarily includes several officers of the law—is in itself a refutation of illegal design We would scorn to truckle to wealth or rank, and we should be the last to excuse an illegal act because of the offender's superior status but in the presant case, a charge of cruelty against the Nawab would but prove the ignorance or malice of the prosecutor, and good ducking in a horse-pond would be the least recognition he could be offered for his zeal in the interests of mercy. A damaged tin pot tied to his coat-tails and a hooting mob following at his heels would be fitting adjuncts of the interesting ceremony. Ed. B. T].[৮৪]

29.12.1877

RAM FIGHT

A warning voice has rather startled us by his letter. We had not the remotest idea that any movement was in contemplation against the

Nawab Ahsun Oollah. Allowing there is and that the Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals is bent upon prosecuting, we don't see that, the Nawab need give himself a moment's anxiety, because the Society travels out of its legitimate duty to make itself ridiculous. It is, to say the least, questionable if ram-fights are illegal and we are pretty sure they are not susceptible of contortion into a charge of cruelty to animals. But apart from this, we think our correspondent's letter open to critieism. Ram fights, he tells us, are flagrant breaches of the law, and those who aid and abet them worthy of imprisonment. As regards the Nawab Ahsun Oollah, however, there is a serious but in the case. We certainly do not see it. If ram-fights ae illegal, and their promoters worthy of legal penalty, it matters not whether they are peasants or princes. The law is the same against both, and it surely is no excuse that, because a man is of high rank and entertains his fellow-citizens with princely hospitality, he can defy the law. The effect of our correspondent's logic is this—Ram-fights are illegal and their promoters worthy of imprisonment. A is an aider and promoter or ram-fights, but A. is not responsible to the law, because of his lavish hospitality and exalted rank. The conclusion is inconsequential. It would be absurd and ungracious to prosecute Nawab Ahsan Oollah, but not for the reasons stated by our correspondent. Rank and hospitable habits have nothing whatever to do with amenability to the law. If the advisers of the Society think they can prosecute our popular Nawab, let them do so by all means ; we would not say a word to deter them, but we think, nevertheless, that they will lay themselves open to deserved ridicule, if they make the attempt, and this is our opinion on legal grounds. To suppose that our Nawab would openly advertise his intention of committing an illegality is to argue ...... —well, ... a very wise man.

29 12.1877

THE CITY OF DACCA

We have a map of it before us, prepared 'under the superintendence of N. T Davey, Esq., Revenue Surveyor.' It was published in the year 1859, and is a very correct delineation of the city. In scanning it, we have been struck with the gradual inroads of jungle, and the gradual shifting, lower and lower down the river, of the habitable city. When Dacca was in its glory, under Mahomedan rule, the city evidently extended far into what is jungle now. Bhowal, Capassia, and the surrounding country, immense cotton-fields is the days of the old Romans, have long since been reclaimed by jungle, and now constitute the hunting-ground of Eastern Bengal. Tigers, leopards, panthers, bears, deer, and a countless

host of other wild animals roam on land that once yielded the fine cotton which, woven into webs of wind, were the delight of the wives and daughters of Roman Emperors. The city too, extended far north into what is now all but irreclaimable forest land. An inspection of the map will show that in these jungles there are still to be found weed-choked tanks and wells, ruins of Mahomedan mosques, old walls, the foundations of ancient brick buildings, and innumerable Mahomedan tombs. The mouths of old wells overgrown with jungle have over and over again proved fatal traps to tigers and leopards, which have tumbled into them and perished. As the trade of the city diminished and there was a proportionate decrease in the population, the inland section of the city was abandoned, and the people moved nearer and nearer to the river side. They spread themselves along the bank of the river in an easterly direction, until now, the breadth of population is greater in the eastern than in the western portion of the city. The main features of the city have not altered since the occupation of it by the English. In other parts of the country, and especially, in the North-West Provinces, what is called the 'station' is distinct from the city. The 'station' is purely of European origin. It is that section of a town or city which is exclusively given up to European dwllings ; the 'city' is the section inhabited by the natives, and in which all the principal bazars are located. This is not the case in Calcutta, where the hovels of shoemakers crowd under the walls of stately European mansions, and stinking native *parahs*. send up their smoke and malaria into the windows of palaces And it is not the case in Dacca, where houses intended for Europeans to dwell in, are to be found scattered in all parts of the town. Bazars are to be met with in every direction, and houses down the bazars ; but these houses are far from deserving the character that has been given to them. In a short description of the town inserted at the bottom of the map, we find it stated that the houses of the European residents are 'large and well-built, and give to the town a somewhat imposing appearance on the approach to it from the south.' 'Large' Yes, the open sky is large too, but nobody would like to live under it ! Dacca houses are large, but they have no doors and windows worthy of the name. They are so constructed that every room in a house necessarily becomes a thoroughfare, and the tenant is obliged to submit to a sort of public life which is any thing but agreeable. An then, what a plesant fiction it is to talk of these houses as being 'well-built'. Let the and occurrence that deprived a family of the flower of the flock cry "shame!" on our Native landlords. Let the frequent house inspecting committees that the Magistrate has had occasion to appoint, testify to the

safety of our houses. There is scarcely a private dwelling or a public office, that is safe. Almost every house ought to have props to its beams ; a sound arch would be stared at with unbelieving amazement ; cracked walls are too common to be noticed. The only security one enjoys in his house is the hope that he may not happen to be in a room at the time when it comes down! Such are our 'large and well built' houses! A more correct description is that of the native huts and lanes of the city : 'The numerous streets that intersect the town are extremely narrow and crooked : and only a few are metalled and wide enough to admit of a wheeled conveyance passing through them. The intermediate spaces are filled up with houses and huts, usually arranged in the form of chouks or squares, which are separated from each other by foot-paths, and generally surrounded by jungle and deep pits, from which earth has been dug for the purpose of building, serving as depositories for all the refuse animal and vegetable matter and filth of the neighbourhood. This is Dacca, Who will say that it does not require the sweeping hand of reform? *[৮৫]

22.6.1878

OUR HEALTH

We wonder whether there are people in Dacca who have peculiar views of sanitation, like some of the Calcutta native gentry? We fancy there must be ; for if half the money that has been squandered within the past few months upon weddings, and upon nautches and other entertainments, had been placed in the Magistrate's hands with the request that he would use it in causing the filthiest parts of the town to be cleaned, it would have done a thousand times more good than that patronizing of indigenous artistic talent which is used as an excuse for keeping up various Native festivals. But the men who will spend rupees on selfish gratifications, will not spare a cowrie to be generous. Our remarks may be deemed unwarrantably severe by some of our readers ; but we do not think they are. From the manner in which money is thrown away by wealthy Hindoos, it is but natural to infer, that the Baboos of the city have a superfluity of wealth which they are at a loss how to apply. We therefore simply beg to suggest that that if they have any money left after investing large sums of it in the gratification of their religious prejudices, they will make it over to the Magistrate, as their contribution towards the support of the conservancy of Dacca, until the Government has made some arrangement for securing the health of the town. The state of the

See *Journal of the Society of Arts for February 9 1877.* pp 226, vol XXV.

atmosphere in the city is so bad that cholera is playing havoc among the poorer classes who are huddled together in their crowded *bustees*. No inconsiderable proportion of infants among them, die of lock-jaw within the first week after their birth, owing to the pestilential condition of the atmosphere. The Penal Code alone, in the absence of special legislation, ought to enable the Magistrate to keep the town a great cleaner than what it is, as it gives him the authority to insist on every householder keeping his compound clean. If just this measure of cleanliness were secured, the gain to the town would be immense We would ask him just to inspect the Old Lines, where the jungle becomes denser every day. To our certain knowledge, it has not been thinned for months, and only the other day, a cobra, five feet long, emerged from it. If the Magistrate has not the time to look after these things, and we rather think he is already burdened with as much work as any single man can do,--let him assign the task to the Assistant-Magistrate, who might see that the subordinate officers of the Municipality do their work, and armed with the Penal Code, might soon enforce some degree of cleanliness among the inhabitants, and frighten away cholera and other epidemics and Mr Price are no longer here to superintendent the clearing of in the out skirts. of the town. We also miss Mr. Allen, who was most energetic in his efforts to reclaim the town from its insanitary condition. It is our private opinion that his labours in this direction, injured his health. Something ought to be done, and done at once ; for whilst sanitary arrangements--and a pure water supply—remain under consideration, the city is drifting, like some huge patch of some corrupting vegetation, towards "The Isle of Dogs."

22 6 1878

A TONIC FOR THE POST OFFICE

Tonics are usually very bitter medicines, and disagreeable to the taste. But they are sometimes needful. When from surfeit, or sloth, or other causes,—and the doctors tell us they are numerous,— people lose their appetites and a certain healthy vigour of body, become dyspeptic, or feverish, or jaundiced, and are loose-jointed as to body and listless as to mind, they need to take tonics ; and the health giving litter restores the fast 'dilapidating' patient. Now, there are moral tonics as well as physical. The latter we leave the doctors to administer ; we editors superintend the administration of the former. All the departments of the State, at sometime or other, need moral tonics to renew their health and vigour, and to keep them alive to the interests of the public whose servants they are. But the most bilious dyspeptic, and sluggish department of all,

is the Post Office, a department which, whilst it professes to be all despatch, is the most obstinately opposed to actual despatch of all the departments. Indeed, it is as innocent of despatch as a sucking dove. Some people's brains get ossified ; it is a disease which physicians ae acquainted with but cannot cure. It appears to us, however, that in the case of the Post Office, the brain (opposing there to have been any originally) has turned into fat. We are not aware that physicians are acquainted with the diagnosis of this disease. If they are, they must regard it quite as hopelessly as ossification of the heart Cartainly, the *heart* of the Post Office has waxed fat, for its action is so dreadfully fable that the pulsations are communicated even more sluggishly than those of our Superintendent's telegraphic batteries! What does the Post Office eat that it cannot bestir itself, and seems for ever torpid? Every man of the department should be put on Dr. Mouat's prison allowance for six months ; and at the end of that time, we may possibly have a little improvement. The Deputy-Inspectors travel about in boats from place to place, doing what? The Baboos does in the Post offices and distribute letters at their leisure The Dawk runners pant so frightfully when they attempt to overtake the tortoise, that they cannot be expected to accomplish more than a mile an hour ; and that which was intended to be a convenience to the public, becomes a permanent cause of irritation. Let our readers peruse the following letter, and say whether they do not think we are justified in administering the strongest dose of tonic we can prepare. It is a letter from Calcutta written by a respectable firm, to the Editor of this paper .--

"Dear Sir,

Whilst thanking you for sending us your paper, we would mention that it is delivered to us very irregularly, we take this opportunity of informing you of the same."

Only a day or two ago a circumstance was brought to our notice of a resident in Dacca receiving a letter addressed "Hyderabad, Deccan." Last month a letter to our address giving cover to a currency note was lost and has not yet made its appearance. Then again, great irregularities are practised with regard to the delivery of letters. The post-bag comes in and instead of being opened immediately, is allowed to remain upopened, until the answering of any letter therein, requiring reply by return, becomes an impossiblity. A gentleman's dak has been delivered to another person's servant, without his sanction, in fact, against his expreas orders ; and when he sent his own servant—a man who has been in his employ for some time, he was not allowed to receive his master's dak.

22.6.1878

MISSIONARIES

No body of men ever did or ever will, ... effected in India by missionaries. Like a locality of evil repute, which we need not particularise, they are full of good intentions, and they in some cases, no doubt, exert themeselves to carry their desires in effort. They are zealous—at times, oppresively so—but their zeal as frequently as not, outruns discretion, and the little good they are likely to do in following the unostentatious, dispassionate walk and habit laid down for their guidance in ..... mode of address which ... Now, we do not object to missionaries ...... ; they are ...., perhaps, we may say, as a rule, harmless except when they step beyond the scope of their missionary duties and thrust themselves into positions they were never meant to occupy. As a rule, also, they are seldom over-educated. ever-talented, or much gifted as biblical critics, and in exceedingly rare cases, can aspire to be the guides and preceptors of men of ordinary culture. Knowing this, they are apt to step out of the circle of their legitimate functions and dabble in local politics. A missionary as the poor man's *bap ma.* for instancess ... he is rather too fond of taking upon himself—is about one of the most ludicrous situations in which he can pose. Mr. Long[৭৭] did so, and was rewarded with a sight of the interior economy of the Great Jail in Calcutta, and others equally busy, though perhaps not equally mischievous, are not unoften disposed to exceed their functions in a manner that cannot fail to recoil on them. Mr. Long brought lasting ignominy on Indian missions, by conduct that was not only diagraceful in itself, but audaciously illegal. Had he not been summarily dealt with, it is difficult to speculate to what lengths he might have gone. His example has vitiated the tons of many a man. whose walk might otherwise have been consistent, and his influence for evil is felt to this day. A consideration of mission work, and—disguise the fact as one will—its impossible to be concealed failure, has given rise to a discussion in a contemporary's columns regarding which we have a word to say. It is contended that

"the Natives see, howsoever the missionary lives, he does not live upon *them* ; that he does not desire to profit either by their earnings or their labour ; and that he is the member of the only class of Englishmen who occupy this particular position."

The allegation is not true, in fact, and is monstrous, in theory. As a rule, the Native regards a missonary as a preacher of the Christian Scriptures, privately encouraged and paid by Government to entrap as many persons out of caste as he possibly can and to represent these as willing converts to Christianity. He believes that

no Missionary cares very much to what form of Christian faith the man is converted, so that he renounce his own : and the missionaries are indebted to their own blindness and ignorance of Native character for having caused such a belief to exist. Their policy is one of demolition, and they proceed in their ... to undermine the pillars of superstition without a thought that, by destroying the fabric, they have merely increased their own difficulties. Driven from one stronghold of faith, the mind naturally anchors .... on another, if it can. The missionary's standard is too high ; consequently, there is a wandering along the dark mazes of scepticism, till conviction is lost in the depth of false philosophy and inconclusive reasoning. The Native, if possessed of intelligence, knows there can be no distinction drawn one department of the State and another, in the matter of appropriating the revenues, and consequently, that the Clergy of the State Chruch no more live upon him than do the civil servants—the *hakims* of the country. He knows that a State Church is quite as essential an element of good Government as any other department of the machinery of administration, and if his thoughts wander at all in the direction our contemporary alleges, he classes every servant of the State as a contributor, in some form and to some extent, to the burdens his country had to endure. To say that the essential difference so far as winning the Native's confidence is concerned, between the merchant and the missionary is that, whereas the merchant depends upon his own exertions and the missionary upon what he can draw from the charitable Christian public of Europe and America, is to institute a very coarse but none the less true, comparison between them. The merchant is not more of an adventurer than the missionary. Both come to India for what they can make, and if, as a rule, while the former is accumulating a competency, the latter struggles on a bare subsistence, it is because the lines of duty marked out for them differ, and the incentive to labour that stirs each, moves in a different groove. The object of the mercantile man is to diffuse the principles of commerce, to educate the Natives to honourable mercantile enterprise, and to lay by against old age, a sufficiency in money or its equivalent ; with the missionary, the great ... is So have a recognition from the heathen of the truth of the gospel, to educate the Natives to morality of habit and to secure a living. They both fail in the two first aspirations of their mission, rarely missing success in the 'last,' and this in reality—not to fence with words—is substantially tile defference between the two adventurers. It is of little moment to go deeper into the controversy, and ask whether the same results as the apostles of old achieved can be hoped for

in these days, or to speculate success should follow in the use of only the name contrivances. We have Christianity in these days, as it has come to us. according to our contemporary, overlaid and crushed by eighteen centuries of ecclesiastical history and theological disputations and it behaves as to make the beat of it. The apostolic Christianity that left its heaven in the Roman Empire unadulterated... as it was, needed signs and tokens and miracles to prove its divine origin. Would our contemporary return to that primitiveness of faith that believed because it had occular demonstration to aid its convictions? Surely not this is the age of reason, and we are not taught to follow the missionary blindly, because he asks us to do so, and assures us he is the descendants of the disciple who raised the dead and showed signs and wonders as evidence of their power. We shall be told that the necessity for miracles has passed. Granted. What then is to create a belief ... in ... the man who profess ..to come to us with a message in not an impostor? He is self-opinionated, vulgar, ignorant, and dictatorial, and we are required to take him upon trust. This decline to do unless and until he can prove the truth of his words. He cannot do so in controversy, and we refuse to he guided by him, save and except upon testimony divinely transmitted. The life of Christianity here ... We are unconvined, and our would-be teacher has no means of establishing himself as a true messenger. No. Let us with all our difficulties and disabilities, content ourselves with what we have, regarding the missionary as a poor, fallible creature, oftener needing to be instructed, than possessing the ability to instruct.

21 8 1878

ICE

A paragraph has been extracted by some of our contemporaries beginning—'we are happy to find that our worthy townsman Nawab Khajeh Ahsun Oollah has already begun supplying the public with much needed-for ice and co. It is scarcely necessary to say that "our worthy townsman" is perfectly innocent of the frigid philantrophy with which he is credited. The ice-machine is the sole property of Mr. Pogose Vardon, an Armenian shopkeeper, who was to have received half the value of the stock, and share in equal moieties [equities?] profits and losses with 'our worthy townsman.' The prelimeniries had been arranged. But no formal agreement drawn up, and so the Armenian having cleared some R. 30, on the first day and Rs. 50 on the second day after the proposition, and seeing his way to a good business, declined the half share arrangement. But offered, "our worthy townsman" the

entire plant as it stands—at a valuation—sharp but hardly creditable 'our worthy townsman' having already been sold too much, we are informed, declined purchase, and very properly.

19.4.1879

EXHIBITION

That our forthcoming international exhibition, especially now that it is to be aided by Government, will do much to solve many an Indian trade problem and plane down more than one social difficulty, cannot be doubted. Hill-tribes, and those yet remote from railways, will hear of it as a great fair, full of wonders, abounding in curiosities, and pregnant with hopeful prospects for India's future trade with strangers, as well as her neighbours. Many within reach, or having access to means of transport, will see it, and carry back with them beyond the jungle new ideas, new aspirations, new hopes, and new demands. Those who have heretofore been content to tickle the earth with a hoe, because it always laughed with a harvest, may see posibilities of more effective and expansive modes of cultivation, besides room for cultivating many products which the exhibition will contain. A sight of means to do commercial and industrial work often leads to such work being done ; and with machinery, railway plant, and locomotives ready to hand, or shown to be easily acquired, there may be such a stirring of the dry bones of industrial and social progression and reform in India, as has not heretofore been witnessed Products of the dependency, and those of England, her colonies, and foreign countries, placed side by side, must inevitably lead to hopes of vivifying capabilities for trading, or manufacturing, potentialities of development, and a suggested rivalry of friendly interests, of which the European, at least will not be slow to avail himself. If the exhibition only adds to our knowledge of India, says a contemporary, it will have answered a good purpose ; and if it does that it will be sure to do more. Yes, so we should imagine. English writers, for the most part, do not know India practically, and their vague notions of the country and of its people, derived second-hand, very possibly, from people themselves but very superficially acquainted with any part of this extensive subject, only add to the confusion and dismay of such real well-wishers as take up the cudgels on India's behalf, and after advocating reforms that would improve us into the Bay of Bengal, awake to the fact that, they have been writing a great deal of fanciful nonsense. Development of Indian resources has scarcely been begun. Without exaggeration, we may say, this country,

compared with what she ought to be, is still in swathing ... Take the latest example. Ironworks established in India have, so far failed and so egregious that State aid is now offered to those who and attempt to resuacitate them. Other industries have drooped and languished for lack of English capital and English enterprise. Doubtless there are several districts in which the same experiment will be tried, and with similar .... results. This seems to be one of the pitfalls to be avoided by all but modern Crocuses. There exist vast sources of other wealth in the soil and forests of this dependency, less uncertain in results, which the application of capital can bring into active growth manufacture of cotton, silk, jute, cultivators of tea, which seems likely soon to supersede even cotton as an article of Indian export greater introduction of improved agricultural implements and machinery, including that mills and other works using steam-engine and even brewing of beer in some ports of this huge continent of India, are all departments of activity which may be ..... extended. That British manufacturers will be slow to avail themselves of opportunities offered by this exhibition, we cannot doubt. Such an opening for extension of business has hitherto never presented itself, and its occurrence just now under the most favourable auspices and the highest patronage, pomises to mark the beginning of a new era in developing modern India.

9.6.1883

FISHERIES DINNER

Now gentlemen, with respect to this forthcoming Exhibition, we are perfectly aware that it dates from 1878. There was a spontaneous movement of the Colonial Commissioners—and a distingushed body they were—to bring before the Prince of Wales the desirability of the formation of a Museum, which would represent permanently the producers of our great Colonial Empire. This deputation of the Colonial Commissioners was received by the Prince of Wales at the British Embassy. and His Royal Highness" reponse may be found in the Blue Books. It showed on the part of the Prince of Wales a determination that such a museum should be founded, and this matter has been frequently referred to by His Royal Highness, in conversations which I have had the honour of having with him. I know it is a matter that he has had much at heart, and when His Royal Highness stated that these buildings should be kept for the next few years, it was with a view probably. above all. of carrying out this great Exhibition of the Colonial Empire which will form a museum

representing the whole of the British Colonies. But for this Exhibition to take place, we need all the support and sympathy possible of our friends from the Colonies, in every part of the world ; and I trust that when the time comes, this country, which it ever ready to receive them will rise up and say :—"Let us have this great year for the Colonies. Let us all open our hearts and extend our sympathies to those who have maintained the honour of this great country throughout the length and breadth of the world!" May all of us here at this table live to see the results of that year ; and let us all work harmoniously together, lay aside all petty grievances, and show from a Colonial point of view, our fullest resolve to sympathise with the mother-country. And I trust that any of you, gentlemen, who may be shortly leaving this country, will take back with you, not only the hearty desire of the Colonial Office, as expressed by Sir Robert Herbert to co-operate in this great work, but that the Prince of Wales has had this in his mind since 1878, and that he is determined that this shall be accomplished, and further, we in this country, and you, gentlemen, are also determined that this shall be accomplished. Before a very few months are passed, I hope that you will find documents arriving, following one after another, not to be thrown aside in the wastepaper basket, but to be acted upon with the knowledge of a firm intention to found a great museum. With regard to the products of our Colonies, I should like in the first place to see all the framework of the glass cases and the furniture made with the various woods of the Colonies. How much could be done in the way of decoration in this country, if we only made use of those woods which we have in our own empire! Then, there are marbles and stones which we practically know nothing about, and which could be used for pedestals, and various other products, which would help to make the great Exhibition both attractive and instructive. May it please God that I may have some little life left in me to assist in this great work. I am sure that the Colonial Office represented here by Sir Robert Herbert, will do its utmost in the matter, and I trust you, gentlemen, will not forget us when you go back to your respective countries. Let us make the year 1886 a red letter year in the history of this great empire, and show our sons and daughters that spirit of loves, of which we are all proud, and that the spirit of this empire comes from the great colonies which are helping us from all parts of the world to that sense of friendship eminence and security which we enjoy." (cheers)—Sir Rawson Rawson." There is only one other toast that I venture to propose, after that most eloquent speech to which we have just listened and which has filled and warmed our hearts ; and that is

the toast of our host, Mr. Adderley (Cheers) We should not have had such an interesting and such an animated speech as Sir Philip Cunlffe-Owen's and one which I hope will remain upon our memories, had it not have been for his hospitable kindness. I may claim a right to propose his health, because I have probably known him longer than any gentleman at the table. As an ex-Governor of the Bahamas, I became acquainted with my friend Mr Adderley twenty-four years ago. I then became acquainted with his family also, and knew what they had done in past years for the Bahamas, the position they then occupied, and learned their value as the leading merchants of that colony and those who have most attributed to its welfare. My friend here was in the Assembly, and I had the pleasure of recommending him for a seat in the Council I have since followed his career a England, and it is he has crowned it by the connection with the Fisheries Exhibition, where he has devoted, in the most unselfish manner, his time and his money and everything that could help the Bahamas. I hope that the pleasure and the reward that he will have from his own conscience in having been useful to his colony, and the encouragement that he will derive from the success which has attended his exertions, will lead him to ... the Exhibition of 1886, which will secure to a small colony even a higher position than that which it already holds. I have to thank him in the name of the gentlemen here for what he has done, and I trust it will be a fraction of what he can still do. Mr. Adderley replied—"Sir Rawson and gentlemen, I am deply indebted to you, Sir Rawson, for the kind and flattering manner in which you have spoken of me. And I thank you, gentle men, for having so kindly responded to the toast of my health. On so purely personal a matter. I feel naturally that the less I say the better. I am proud (indeed I think I may call this the proudest moment of my life) in having brought togather, account this table, so many distinguished gentlemen of the empire I am delighted to have been able to do this, and can now only express the hope that, united, we may make the Exhibition of 1886, one of the grandest that has ever been held in England."

2 1.1884

KNIGHTHOOD

... Hindu Patriot—are dissatisfied with the news telegraphed to a correspondent of the *Englishment* that, the Honorable Mr. River, Thompson[৮৭] will at length receive the distinction, which must be .... to the Lieutenant-Governor's family, of becoming a regular Sir Knight, even though it be of the lustreless Star of India. We do not

share the feeling. Honors are but a name. Honors as the gift of governments are usually granted for party services. Indian honors are simply wasted—on chums and parasites, or Brummagem ware in war or administration. The Indian Knighthood is just the thing to fix the glory of a Rivers Thompson. it was never refused to the boldest sinner of all his predecessors—to the rake or the weathercock—to the Liar or the Devastator. Why should it stick at the parton of the Anti Ilbert Bill Lunatics and bullies? No, no! We hope they will make him a K C. S. I. and all the rest of it, to prove once more, of more proof were needed, that the Alphabet and every part of it is all bosh." And who is this Native gentleman—we suppose, that is the most satirical term to employ—who writes thus of a Lieutenant-Governor and of Englishmen contending against imbecility and self-conceit? Could we not, by agitating, bring some of these gentlemen under a penal press Act, so constructed as to embrace abolition as a penalty? Is it not shamaful that deliberate and malicious falsehoods should be propagated against functionaries held in the highest respect and veneration, with impunity? No Native gentleman, worthy the name, will ever be persuaded to believe a word of this miserable rant, but that is not the question. If want of decency is want of sense, the absence of decorum should be made illegal and be treated accordingly. We protest against the gross insults levelled at our Lieutenant-Governor, because he proved himself a man.

23.4.1814

TELEGARPHIC AND POSTAL

Under one of the ablest administrators India has ever known, a man rarely equalled, never surpassed, Assam is gradually casting off her swathing bands, for the freer exercise of those powers, hitherto lying latent in her bosom. Which, by the untiring seal of her remarkable ruler—by his illimitable tact and genius for converting whatsover comes to his hand to profitable account— are fructifying gradually into a form of development full of promise for the future, as of usefulness for the present. But rich as the province is on resource, prolific as she may prove in all those potentialities which concentrate for success when judiciously blended, she has much, very much to accomplish in the way of reforming such of her internal institutions as exercise an external influence—notably her telegraph and postal department. A recent example may serve to illustrate the need of reform, and although we can cap it by others, we prefer just now to let it stand for our text. Dhunsiri Mookh is a ghat in Assam, where inland steamers anchor, and, in a dispirited, dejected sort of way, part with their

freight. There is a boding spirit of depression about the spot, as though this Mookh had long years ago been dedicated to the titular deity of sadness. A wild, desolate looking place, suggestive of suicide, where a week's residence would almost weary life with its burdensome monotony, it has but one redeeming feature— Nature is never without her compensations— in a telegraph office ; though, for what ..... table design of Providence or man, one has been stationed there, is matter for nonjacture. Latakoojan is a place twenty miles distant inland, than which a more cheerless locale was never described in fiction or pictured by artist. Between these two abodes of desolation, there is no direct telegraphic connection, but Dunsiri Mook is connected by telegraph with Golaghat, distant about twelve miles from Latakoojan. Now, under such circumstanes, calculating locomotion at a fairly moderate rate of speed, one would contemplate the possibility of a telegram from Dunsiri Mookh reaching Latakoojan in twenty-four hours, but he would be a sanguine man, imperfectly versed in the mysteries of telegraphy. Just as philosopher once declared language to have been invented merely to mystify, so likewise in in Assam does the Electric Telegraph appear as a beacon light to warn the unwary against incurring the infatuated belief it is established there for speed—a notion that can reflect little credit upon its author, whole reflecting much injustice upon Government. And here we come to our illustration, borrowed from the *I. D. News* of Calcutta. On the evening of the 23rd ult. a telegram was delivered it Dunsiri Mookh telegraph office for Latakoojan, and travelling by easy stages, reached that station at noon on the 26th idem, a marvel of despatch, if we consider how far it had to travel, and susceptible of explanation thus. On the morning of the 24th June, this message reached Golaghat and was sent on by *dak* , and as in Assam our aborigine brethren are far from rash in action or impetuous in move—more they performed a journey of twelve miles in forty-eight hours—a rate of travelling by post that we admit has been excelled ; nevertheless, seventeen hundred and sixty yards in two hundred and forty minutes is something over seven yards per minute, or about a yard every seven and a half seconds, In our youth we were familiarised with the danger of ill-considered and heedless action. We were taught that a race is not always for the swift, nor a victory for the storng, as exemplified in a text tale regarding a hare and a tortoise, & Co., & Co. Constant repetition of these selected moral lessons for our edification inclined us to feel that slow and weak people might also win the prizes of life, and our admiration for swift-footed and steel-muscled collegues underwent considerable diminution. May not the telegraph and

postal anthorities have had a similar training in boyhood? Now, closely connected with this question comence that seems to demand enquiry. Why is that a telegram received at a post office for delivery needs to be registered? Mr. Elliott has but to know this fact, to set about a reform, which we doubt not will be complete and most conducive to public convenience

30.7.1885

DACOITY AND OTHER CRIME

Under class III of a report now before us, there was an increase of 16 in the number of cases of dacoity. there having been 121 cases in 1882, as compared with 105 in 1881. At the same time, it is a pleasing contrast to the past history of crime in Bengal to be able to record that, 13 districts, were entirely free from dacoity, and it is now of a different type and considerably localised. The largest number was committed in the Rajshahye division, in which there were 32 cases, and in the Burdwan division, in which there were 27. In his report for 1881. the Inspector-General stated that labourers emoloyed on the constrction of railway lines were, he believed, offenders in some cases, and this theory has received confirmation by the arrest, since the close of last year, of a large gang of such persons in possession of property stolen in a dacoity. Except three circles, viz. the Rajshahye, Midnapore, and Gya-Hazareebagh, the Inspector-General does not believe that dacoity is elsewhere systematic. In the Rajshahye circle, gangs are believed to be chiefly up country men working on railways. A special Inspector has been deputed to look into cases in this circle. and Mr. Lyall hopes that he may be able to obtain a clue to the persons who committed dacoities during two years past. The Midnapore circle comprises Midnapore, the 24 Pergunnahs and Hooghly ; and bad characters in these three districts appear to work together. Hooghly has perhaps supplied more convicted dacoits to the Andamans than any other district, and it would be matter for regret, if, after years of tranquility there should be any revival of this profession The Lieutenant Governor says that, he is not exactly aware of the duties which appertain to the office of Deputy Inspectors-General ; but it seems to him that in cases of the kind under notice, where gang robberies are committed by a body of men, operating apparently in combination from different neighbouring districts, a special deputation of one of these officers to inversigate the whole circumstance of each case would be of advantage. And it seems to him moreover that, the duty imposed upon an officer so deputed should not be a submission of a conventional report after a few days' inspection, but he should

remain in the tracts affected. untill some discovery has been made of the character and numbers of gangs, and the measures necessary for their dispersion of arest. Unity of action is necessary where several districts are concerned. and this can best be secured under the supervision and direction of a single officer of the rank and position of a Deputy Inspector-General. Mr. Rivers Thompson would wish the adoption of this course in the so-called Midnapore circle during the ensuing cold weather. An officer of Mr. Baker's experience, or of Colonel Fagan's activity, should be able, in a couple of months, to bring to light many ways in which ... dealt with ; and under any circumstances, their employment on such duty would be of more practical use than the inspection of accoutrements and revision of registers at headquarters in Calcutta. The value of property stolen by dacoits during 1882, amounted to Rs. 53.490. of which property to the value of Rs. 7.358 was recovered, as compared with property to the value of Rs. 33,031 stolen, and property worth Rs. 1,750 recovered during the preceding year. There were only 122 cases of robbery, as compared with 147 in the preceding year. Serious cases of mischief fell from 748 to 628. Mischief by killing animals increased slightly, there having been 730 cases during 1882. as compared with 712 in the preceding year. The cases were most numerous in those districts in which a trade in hides is conducted. Results of trials of cases of "serious offences against person and property or against property only" were not satisfactory, the percentage of convictions to cases being only 10.2, to persons arrested 45.6, and to persons tried 49.3.

23.4.1884

UNPOPULAR

Districts Savings Banks ares declining in popularity, post office savings banks becoming more attractive in deposits and withdrawal of money. Our present Government stock note is most successful, but the post office money order system continues to gain popularity with increasing facilities giving to the public Transactions in currency notes also show a large increase under the value issued, which is due to the fact that in some districts notes were freely exchanged for cash. So says presidency Division commissioner. Unquestionably, our present system of money order payments at sight is a great born to all classes and is valued accordingly. We have known remitances by currency note hamper the receiver, as we understand Mofussil branches of central banks are not bound to exchange notes for cash and viceversa.

3.2.1886

NARAINGUNGE

Now that his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor is about to visit Naraingunge, we think it would be well if the people interested in that place impressed on His Honour the importance of a good survey of the River Megna. The trade of that port is increasing very rapidly and we feel quite sure that a very fine channel, the whole length of the river, could be found by having a proper survey. Lieutenant Pelley, the Deputy Conservator of the Port of Calcutta has now and then been deputed to carry out outside surveys ; and we feel sure such an important work could not be placed in more efficient hands. Lieut. Pelley has a long experience as a Hydrographic Surveyor in India, and he would possibly complete the work within the five season.

10.2.1886

CHRISTMAS TREAT

Had a local statistician been asked to enumerate the children of Dacca of all classes in our Christian community, we doubt if he would have committed himself to an aggregate over eighty, as an extreme maximum. One hundred and fifty juveniles turned out, however, last Thursday, and of sizes, capacities, and surroundings that caused some speculation how and where these young folk had contrived to live for three hundred and sixty four days preceding ; how some, at least, of these roses could have blushed unseen, wasting their sweetness on the desert air. Truly, one-half of creation does not know how its other half manages to exist. Presenting at a preliminary muster, a formidable little army, our young friends soon spread out into small groups in the extensive Telegraph Office grounds, kindly placed at their disposal by the Chief-Superintendent Turning to our left, we noticed a splendid tent, in one wing of which were tables covered with a miscellaneous assortment of treasures, whose distribution later, was as a crowning mercy to a joyous afternoon's entertainment, but we must not disclose secrets prematurely. In front, an Aunt Sally reposed gravely—even dejectedly—against a tree, her woe-begone appearance seeming to indicate that she had hitherto received but few Xmas prizes, while her bedraggled costume testified to a severe buffetting, her generally dispirited make-up bearing evidence to a reception that, judging from her disarranged attire, should have afforded a fund of amusement to competitors for her favour. Further on, some boys had entered into a spirited contest at high jumping, and flanking them, were groups of girls testing their swiftness of foot in flat-racing. Tug of War, Kiss in the Ring,

and other like amusements had their full proportion of patronage, while benevolence had enlisted skill and energy in arranging, far away to our right, several long tables, with toothsome delicacies upon a scale never witnessed before in a local children's treat, all being tastefully decorated and set out in seductiveness. A delicious display of miscellaneous sweets, sweet cakes in every variety, preserved fruit, oranges, biscuits, comfits. bonbons tea, coffee, frosted and ornamented cakes, and those concomitants of a children's feast always grateful to youth, supplied in liberal, if not lavish profusion, formed a picture of floral and edible beauty that might, in a modified form, barring conventional accessories, have almost re-called Mother Eve's tempatation in Eden. Having exhausted their energies in games that taxed their physical powers, young folk were summoned by a gong to *Tea!* Then and there ensued another race, in which all were confident of securing something substantial. Ayah hustled bearer, whilst *khansamahjee* looked on in silent appreciation of juvenile appetite, or wandered in the vicinity of all that appeared most attractive, hanging nervously about tempting fabrics, wishing no doubt, that chance might favour—but no, let us not wrong this trusty creature by a base suspicion. Who says he has ever secretly entered our cellar, who would be unkind enough to insinuate that our Christmas ham was carved, after quitting our presence, by a less skilfil operator than our old tabby? Nay, who would suspect that cheese, plum-pudding, refections and groceries in general could possibly evidence diminution through other than feline agency? Ah! Our poor, martyred *khansamajees* bear many heavy burdens upon their shoulders, and their consciences—supposing them to be so handicapped—often bend under the weight, as they tell us, of much unmerited obloquy. Yes, there they stood, or strutted with an air of concern, for temporarily, Othello's occupation was gone, and these members of the household of (Moslem) faith, stroked their beards, muttering a suppressed *bismillah* at *goralogue* who rushed hither and thither, assisting *memsahibs* to distribute dainties to children while Akbar complacently pondered over the incongruity—in Oriental eyes—of masters and mistresses working, while servitors were comparatively idle. But though *kafir* hands served goodies to shy juvenility, those commodities were name the less appreciated, and when Nature cried "Hold enough!" we have an idea that Akbar & Co., having chewed the cud of wondering reflection, condescended to chew something more appetising and palatable. But ere this, our juveniles were gathered round a wonderful mimic, who, in his imitation of bird, beast and man, kept these little folks amused, till a magic lantern display concentrated their attention on its

marvellous exhibitor, who disclosed to them wonders of which they had never even dreamt and continued good-naturedly to cater for their special delectation till a thrilling cry went round "Father Christmas is coming!" Then ensued a stampede, and the mysterious tent with its richlyladen beauties was revealed to view. Oh! what dolls, guns, balls, tops, statchels, albums, desks, and scores of other requisites, non-requisites and toys, bags of sweets, & Co., burst upon the youthful gaze, with such a variety of fascination, as surely was never known before! And when Father Christmas came in, with his white flowing beard and frosty hair, what joy to hear his sprightly sallies and to receive from him those pretty presents that gladdened the hearts of their recipients—what a sight did that hugely commodious tent display! What hopes, what joys. what youthful speculations did not those tables hold, centred within neatly-enclosed packets, as, like fancy-fair stalls, besieged by eager customers, tables began to empty of their brave array and little hearts opened to the kindly influence of associated mirth, called forth by infectious enjoyment. But yet another treat was in store, in a splendid display of fireworks, some of which were products of local artistic ingenuity of an undoubtedly high order. And when at last, a goodly number of rockets had shot upwards, Roman candles had burnt out, fire-balloons had risen majestically with comet-like tails streaming with light, and good nights had been reluctantly exchanged, our young friends went back to their dwellings, lost in wonderment at all they had seen and heard, everyone agreeing that this Treat had been an unquestionable success and that this was due to the indefatigable exertions, tact, and skill, of one who, ever since her advent in Dacca, has drawn all hearts to herself. Entirely free from all nonsensical pride and affectation, affable and yet never compromising familiarity, or tolerating impertinence : generous, if impulsive, and if sensitive, kind to a fault, Mrs. Meadows has a heart to feel, a hand to bestow and a power of discrimination that tactfully avoids those unthinking errors, which so often lead to envy and heartburnings, to retaliation for supposed slights and to resentment of imputed follies. Exemplary in her good taste and kindly judgment, she has worthily gained the confidence and justly won the esteem and affection of a large and loyal circle of friends. And now, before closing, if asked what has induced us to enlarge on this Treat, what shall we say in justification? Is it because it appeals so directly to our best impulses of affection to watch the merry gambols and lighthearted sports of childhood, or shall we, faintheartedly take refuge behind a severely prescribed and uncompromising requisition that we were to "Mind and omit nothing? Even as man's sterner nature yields and

always must yield to feminine blandishment ; even as his sturdiness bends to the soft charm of persuasion, so we, in true cavalier style, obey commands graciously laid upon us, and submit to our weakness for fealty to feminine dominion.

16.1.1889

LIGHT ! LIGHT ! LIGHT !

Sir—When Nowab Sir Abdul Ganie was about to be knighed, his son Nawab Ahsanullah promised a reward to every person who should illuminate his dwelling in honour of that event. If you maintain my fathers *izzut* , he promised, by himself and through other "I will make you *Khooshie*". Many poor people spent their all and made him *khooshie*, and some had reason to regret that they were decieved by the voice of the charmer, as they have not been reimbursed to date. I cannot say that Nawab Ahsanullah is aware of this, surrounded as he always is by flunkeydom, Native, European and *quasi*—European, indeed. I should say not as this *employees* often prevent complaint reach him. Now, he known the wrong he has done, he should endeavors to undo it. Nawab Sir Abdul Ghanie was said to have been so touched at the spontaneous, good feeling shown him by his fellow townsmen, that, in recognition, he publicly declared by his letter his intention to light Dacca with gas, and great rejoicing followed. But as year after year has passed, and we are still in darkness people have begun to think this gentleman, has taken winkle out of another gentlemen's book :

"when the Devil got ill
The Devil a saint would be ;
when the Devil got well
The Devil a saint was he."

No one have thought of illuminating his house ; if not urged to it by inducements. That spontaneous illumination was as much a sham, as the promise it elicited, or our Dacca Municipality, or a Bengalee Baboo taking a trip home to England, or any other force. It seems to one this gas-lighting will turn out a case of all gas.

16th September 1889 — yours faithfull HYDROGEN[৮৮]

25.9.1889

KISSING GOES BY FAVOUR

Sir—A five days ago, a respectable native resident of Dacca applied for permission to exhibit some fireworks in town, and was

peremptorily refused, although he was willing to finish his *tamasha* early. Baboo Ruplal das kept all Dacca disturbed from ten o'clock P. M. to nearly five o'clock. A. M., but his application having been granted, nobody interfered with him, and Baboos A. C. Roy and P. N. Basu also had five works at the Northbrook Hall. Can you tell me, Sir, why such invidious distinction are made? I can tell you what Natives think. In the two latter ceses. European sahebs were fed, but Babu-had no intention to spend his money on ham and champagne, hence his disapposintment. If sahiks are well-fed : everything is made smooth ; but if not, then objections are not wanting. See.how Nawab Ahsanullah and his employes lord it over everybody in this town ; and why? Does it need to be explained? Nowab Ahsanullah works through three potent agents—

Money. food, drink.

yours faithfully,
Independant.

[we have heard this case, but we do not know particulars. there must be some other reason than that have given. In our humble opinion, it requires more than a ham sandwich and a glass of "fizz" to bribe an English official. No Nawab or anybody else has borded it over us. Ed. B. T.]

15.3.1890

STRIKE

It is said a barbers strike has occured at Bera, district of Pabna. There humble flagaros strive to obtain. says a contemporary. 'half an anna for shaving and shamposing an adult, and half that amount for similar services to a child? Then are children shaved also?

31.7.1895

TICCA-GARI STRIKE*

On Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and part of Sunday last, not a ticca-gari could be engaged in Dacca. Our local Jehus were on strike. There was no reason why they should cease work at all. since their grievanes could have been fully discussed while their *garis* were plying. Certain concessions have been made to them, which, as far as we can ascertain, are reasonable and just. They used, no doubt, to be subject to much police oppression, and forming a useful community, they resented this, by practically fining themselves by refusing fares for three days. They now fancy, they have trumphed, and will resort to a similar mode of redress in future occassions. It

was a michievous error to enter into any sort of compromise with them. They must, in a few days, have been starred into submission if let alone.

7.7.1897

HOLI

Drunken Dacca is in her glory, obscene gesture, vicious languges corrupt song and general debauch hold sway, not also amongst Hindoos, in their celebrating of this most degrading festival—called by an irony of language, holi—but by other classes. By all in fact of sufficiently vitiated desire to join in a general saturnalia of drink, obscenity and revelary. Night is made dismal with discordant howlings—styled by votaries of Holi, singing—and pure delight debased by scences of drunken ruffianism and horse play too disreputable for discription. Red powder mixed with water is squirted upon street pedestrians, and respectable woman made involuntary prisoners at home dreading insult and annoyance should they venture to quit the protection of their home steads That this most objectionable festival should be abolished by legislation we have for years vainly contended. and so year after year it continues to disgrace and principal towns and village hamlets.

9.3.1898

THE NEW YEAR

A HAPPY NEW YEAR

To all our readers ! A new year must being with it serious thoughts, but our wisdom is not to make a great many new resolutions for the guidance of our conduct in the future, but to look back carefully over the past year and learn its lessons. Whether we rockon our allotted portion of life from our own birthdays, or from the commencement of the evil year, the recurrence of either of those dates cannot be unimportant to us. It is true that the 31st of December is only divided from the 1st of January by a single second, yet surely, it is no fanciful distinction no superstitious idea which makes us feel the seriousness of the anniversary. The years pass and are laid to our account, from birthday to birthday, or by another mode of reckoning. For those who take a serious view of life and its responsibilities the close of a year will seem to be the close of a year of probation. For most of us, the retrospect is a painful one! It tells of broken resolutions, unfulfilled, promises, neglect of opportunities ; and we dread the idea of going thro' the game for another year. But a *new year* is opening for us, and its

records, when it is over, may be more satisfactory to recall than those of the past.

"Let the dead past bury its dead
Act—act in the living present !
Heart within and God o'er head.

And this, alike for the individual whether his sphere lies in public, or private life. This year, the statesman may act on lines less due to self advancement and party-spirit, the poet may find nobler themes for his verse, the painter for his brush. It we have been frivolous in the past ; the future is closing, as far as English people are concerned, with a certain amount of anxiety in relation to the affairs of Africa. Although the ultimate success of our interference there is beyond doubt, still, the intermediate steps may be taken at considerable cost of lives and money. The issue at stake is of the greatest importance to humanity as well as to our own national prestige and security. There can now be no compromise; and in the coming year, South Afrrca and its inhabitants will start on fresh lines of social and political control. The old order of things is already, at an end ; and let us hope that all races there will, with the real interests of the country at heart, bury the hatchet of racefeeling, and work with one united effort for the good of our new British Colony.

3.1 1900

A VISIT TO NAGULLBUND MELA

Very glad were we, last Saturday morning, 7th instant to exchange the hot, dusty carriage of the 7.45 train from Dacca (which, by the bye, was nearly one hour late) for the trim little steamer awaiting our arrival at Naraingunge ghat, and which, by the kindnes of a friend, was lent to convey us to the Nagulbund mela. Soon we, a merry little party of three, were speeding away in high spirits, over the sparkling water, a lively contradiction to the time worn adage, that "Two is company and three is none." Dame Nature, apparently fully aware of the fact that we were amateur photo graphers had, with obliging kindness, laid herself out in a panorama of tempting snap shot views Tiny hamlets, draped with foliage of wondrous hues, brightly-attired groups of women coming, like Rebecca of old, to fill their waterpots ; broad fields of green softened by clusters of buff-coloured oxen, and through the midst of all, rolled the broad river like a huge coil of glittering crystal, bearing on its bosom hundreds of little vessels, some, with their feathery sails, reminding one of snowy winged seagulls, as they flitted swiftly over the waves, others, of heavier build,

ornamented with grorgeous colors, resembled birds of gayer plumage, while some brown, heavy-looking boats floundered along like vultures or some other ugly birds of prey. After we had steamed for about a couple of hours, the *mela* came into view, a vast, moving mass lining the bank for over a mile, and bounded on the river's edge by a corresponding line of boats of all sorts and signs, gaily decorated with many coloured flags, amounget which our Union Jack shone out conspicuously. Certainly, if displaying English colors means loyalty to the British rule, than Bengali Babus must be, of all Indians, the most loyal. On the outskirts of the *mela* were two tents standing like two sentinels to guard the way. Those, we understood, were the Magistrate's and Polics sahib's tents. Further down, we came upon a boat containing Missionaries come to distribute tracts and preach, thus, the law and the gospel were well represented, even at a Hindu *mela*. Desiring to dive into the mysteries of Hinduism more minutely than was practicable from our launch, we landed, and found ourselves in the midst of a vast crowd of "all sorts and conditions of men," not to speak of numbers of women and children, the former of whom crowd about these *mela* with remarkable freedom, considering the strict zanana so many have to observe in their own homes. Beggars of all descriptions lay about, asking the generous for alms, very much such beggars probably, as those who lined the banks of the pool of Siloam, two thousand years ago, and waited for the angel's visit. Certainly, the beggars of Nagulbund needed as much as they the Word of the Son of God to heal them. *Sunyasie* or devotees were also present, sitting as tiger skins in the midel of four free, surrounded by an admiring little group of less herole pilgrims. Hindu dances, accompauled by hideous songs, in honor of their deities, were being performed by the merrier spirits of this vast crowd, and little groups of worshippers gathered around the various shrines on whish were erected their most popular idols guarded by Brahmins, who must have reaped a rich harrest out of the offerings presented by the people. The central gathering was at the temple of Kalli, a cruel goddess, represented with a necklace composed of human skulls, and her foot on the dead body of her husband. To propitiate this blodthirsty goddess, kids were ruthlesely sacrificed in a most cruel manner, outside the temple, and offered to this deity. We, with our cameras, were objects of great interest to the pilgrims, who declared us to show them then and there, the photos we had taken. On one occasion, the cry of "*Hori bol!*" "*Hori bol!*" was started, to counteract, as we supposed, the polution of our presence. but fortunately, no disturbance occurred. Returning to our launch, we walked for some time the

pilgrims bathing in the sacred waters of the Brahmaputra (son of God). What a varied assemblage they were! Mothers carrying thair children, young wives holding their *gomtas (sari ends)* tightly over their faces, old men and women, whose feet would soon be entering the waters of the last great river, coarse-visaged, low-caste *sudras*, finely featured, intelligent Brahmins, all anxious to stand for a few minutes, in the river, hoping to realise thereby, a peace not earthborn. Some performed their devotions alone, others repeated *muntras*, told them by attendant priests, dipping in the water, rubbing river mud on their bodies, and finally, throwing in as offerings to the river, flowers and pan which the prieste put into their hands to offer. How pitiful it all seemed, this groping after GOD. of ..., they might find Him. May we not trust that the time is not far distant when the people of India, with their strong religious instincts ..., starching out their hands vaguely in the darkness, may touch God's right hand is that darkness and be led to Him. Who is the Light of the World.

14.4.1900

RAM FIGHT

On Sunday evening last, some hundreds of spectators assembled on a small common adjoining our station cemetry, to witness a ram fight, which they seemed throughly to enjoy in all its brutal details, and placid creature jacketed and turbaned, looking on with complacency. Whom, upon enquiry, were told belonged to a body whose visits to wari are like those of angels—few and far between. He had a melancholy look, as if he had lost a rupee and found a four anna bit. and sceond to move uneasily as from some discomforting came—recent loss of his fail, possibly. He was a policeman. Considering in what a light a cemetery should be regarded by a christian community ; also considering that sunday is hardly a day for such exhibitions, we turst our local authorities will see to this matter. To our disgust, we are informed that a *sahib*, a jute merchant at Narainganj, was impressario it is so monstrously improbable.

5.9.1900

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY

(Amendment Bill)

Sir Denzil Ibbetson moved (8th Jany., that a Bill further to amend our Transfer of Property Act, 1882, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of (Hon'ble) Mr. Raleigh, (Hon'ble) Rai Sri

Ram Bahadur, (Hon'ble) Mr. Adamson, (Hon'ble) Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya remarked :—

"May Lord—I trust I may be permitted to offer a few observations upon the bill which is now before the Council, for there can be no resonable doubt as to its importance, of far-reaching consequences, though it has not attracted much public attention. possibly, because it has not been regarded as legislation of a sensational character. The principle which lies at the foundation of the bill, involves a recognition of a doctrine that transfers of interests in land should be effected, as far as possible, by means of written and registered instruments. If we examine the history of legislation in this country, we shall find that, the doctrine in question had always been steadily recognised, even before the Transfer of Property Act was passed. I am entirely in favour of the principle which underlies the bill, but I cannot conceal my regret that, the bill does not go far enough in two directions, at any rate, so far as mortgages are concerned."

Under our Transfer of Property Act, as it now stands, Dr, Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya went on to show that, a mortgage can be effected by a registered instrument only, if the principal sum secured amounts to one hundred rupees or upwards ; if its principal amount is less than one hundred rupees, registration is entirely optional, and if a mortgage is other than a simple mortgage, our existing law goes further and provides that, no document of any kind is necessary, and a mortgage may be effected by delivery of property. In this contemplated bill, it is proposed that, where a man's principal in money is less than one hundred rupees, a mortgage may be effected by a registered instrument or, except in case of a simple mortgage, by delivery of property. But otherwise, only one change is proposed, and it is that, whenever a mortgage is created by a written instrument, it must also be registered, but it is left open to people to create a mortgage, other than a simple mortgage, by mere delivery of property, and without any written instrument. This does not appear to be either satisfactory in theory, or defensible in principle. If it be determined whether a particular mortgage transaction can be effected only by a registered instrument, with reference solely to amount of principal money secured, Government may brightly charged with taking a narrow and restricted view. This position will be made absolutely clear by means of a concrete illustration :— A borrows fifty rupees from B, whom he places in possession of his property, and to whom he agrees to pay compound interest at an exorbitant, though not unusual, rate, of three percent, per month, or thirty-six percent, per annum, with quarterly rests. Now, if he seek to

redeem his property, which is his security, say, in ten years, he has contracted an obligation to pay to B Rs. 1,570, less profits received by B during his occupation ; and such a mortgage as this may if this bill is passed, as it stands, be effected without any document embodying usual terms of a contract. If, however, A were to borrow three hundred and forty rupees from B agreeing to pay him simple interest at a rate of three percent. per month our law would demand that the terms of such a transaction must be embodied in a registered instrument, although the amount upon payment of which a mortgagor's security can be redeemed in ten years, is practically identical. Now, if he seek to redeem his property, which is his security, say, in ten years, he has contracted an obligation to pay to B Rs. 1,570, less profits received by B during his occupation ; and such a mortgage as this may, if this bill is passed, as it stands, be effected without any document embodying usual terms of a contract. If, however, A were to borrow three hundred and forty rupees from B agreeing to pay him simple interest at a rate of three percent. permonth our law would demand that the terms of such a transaction must be embodied in a registered instrument, although the amount upon payment of which a mortgagor's security can be redeemed in ten years, is practically identical. In other words, an amount of principal money secured by a mortgage, which is taken as a sole determining factor, may, and often does, prove to be our least important element in calculating what exten of liability is created by such a transaction. We should like to return to this very interesting bill, which presents several points that may be discussed with advantage.

30.1.1904

DEFAMATION

Elsewhere, we publish a judgment delivered by our district Magistrate in Abinash Chandra Roy. Professor Harinath De[89], of our Local College, discharging accused under section 233 Code of Criminal Procedure. We do not doubt that substantial justice has been done in this matter, and we entirely agree with our district Magistrict, in thinking that complainant appears to heve been actuated by spite in prosecuting Professor De. A correspondent seems to hold strange views on this decision which has given rise to various shades and forms of opinion. He writes :—"I doubt if this judgement, on legal grounds, will bear criticism for a moment, its main result is indisputable, but its reasons for arriving at such a result, are, I think open to discussion. Everybody is glad that our friend, Professor De, has come out of his ordeal with flying colours.

though some of his true friends doubt if he would have encountered equally good fortune in different hands, surroundings being similar ; though, personally, I am of opinion that, upon such materials as have been indicated, a very able and exculpatory defence was possible. Since the case has not yet been finally decided, notice of motion to the district Judge having been given, I cannot say as much as I would wish. Possibly, upon other grounds than those adopted by Mr. Rankins, our district Judge may uphold his conclusion. He could hardly do so on the same grounds, since he is necessarily more technical in his Judgements and is obliged to be so." We must be silent till he pronounces Judgement.

4.5.1904

SELECTIONS

JUDGMENT

ABINASH CHANDRA RAY VS. HARINATH DE

Complainant came to Dacca some months ago, on a visit intending, apparently, to do some business. Here he found an old college friend of his, in the accused, who is a professor in the Dacca College. It is on evidence that the latter took him up and did much for him to prosecute his prospects and welfare in Dacca. After a time, however, there was an estrangement, which has culminated in the present case. Complainant alleges that the accused has defamed him—firstly, by saying he might run off with certain money collected by him for a raffle ; secondly, by saying that he is a dishonest man and a blackguard, and thirdly, by saying that a case recently brought by complainant against one Lalmohan Saha, of this town, is false and instituted with a view to extort money from Lalmohan Saha. The petition of complainant contains other allegations, some of which might wisely have been omitted ; but the sum and substace of it is that complainant has been defamed by the accused, and that the defamation consists of the three statements mentioned. The first statement has not been proved to have ever been made by the accused. In fact, one witness tells us that when complainant's conduct in the matter of the raffle was being talked about, the accused told the speaker to keep quiet as he had no right to make such a remark. I do not therefore believe that the accused ever said this. As to the third statement, the only evidence as to what accused said about the case of Lalmohan Saha is the statement of the second witness (Nalini Kumar Dutt) that he had heard that the object of A. C. Ray's bringing the case was to extort money from Lalmohan Saha. This accused evidently said it only

once and that in a private conversation. He did nothing to spread a rumour to this effect, and it is not on evidence that he ever said he believed what he had heard. That the story was not of his own invention ; is evident from the articles in the three numbers of a local paper called "*The Bengal Times*" which complainant himself has filed. These show that such a rumour existed. The man saying therefore that one has heard a certain thing which has become sufficiently public to appear in a newspaper is not defamation. The only one of the three statements imputed to accused of which there is any evidence, is the second that the complainant is a dishonest man and a blackguard. This is deposed to by the two witnesses examined by the complainant. One (S. W. Percival) tells us that the accused said that Ray behaved dishonestly towards him : the other (Nalini Kumar Dutt) that the accused said that A. C. Ray was once very honest, but now he is very dishonest. The circumstances under which the remark was made are these :—The two witnesses and the accused were engaged in supervising the last Entrance examination : On one of the days, accused mentioned the case of Lalmohan Saha to Mr. Percival. The latter thereupon went and repeated this to Babu Nalini Kumar Dutt as both of these gentlemen were very friendly with the complainant : they both came back to Mr. De to his private room. There they talked over the case of Lalmohan Saha with the object of finding some means of settling it amicably. Dutt and Percival asked the accused to approach Lalmohan Saha, and Dutt promised to go and see the complainant. The accused, however, refused at first to have any thing to do with the matter, alleging as his reason that the complainant was dishonest. This was a private conversation among friends and it does not seem that the accused wanted to blacken the character of the complainant. In order that this statement should amount to defamation, it must be shown that the accused had reason to believe that it would harm the complainant's reputation. It evidently did not make the witness Dutt think any the loss of complainant as he shortly asserted that complainant was quite honest. nor did it affect the witness Percival. so far as we can judge from his evidence. The statement therefore did not lower his character or credit in the eyes of the two persons who heard it. The person who has done the harm if any harm has been done, is Nalini Dutt, Who admits having told several people what accused said. When the accused made the statement he did not know that Dutt would behave like that. and so could not know or have reason to believe that the complainant's reputation would be affected. Another point to be noticed is that on a previous occasion, a rumour had been spread by one Kiran Mitra that the

complainant was dishonest. This rumour he said lost him some money (Vide evidence) but he did not think it worth his while to sue Kiran Mitra for defamation. If his reputation was not worth defending then, why is he so careful about it now? *I am afraid he has been actuated principally by malice.* I have not considered the question whether the statement that the complainant is dishonest is true. It was made when the accused wanted an excuse for not interfering in the other case ; it was made to two men who were friends of both parties and in circumstances which lead me to believe that it was intended to be confidential. It has not affected the friendship between these two men and complainant and so has not in respect of these two, lowered his character or his credit. The complainant has produced no evidence that his credit or his character has been lowered in respect of other persons, and unless it has, there has been no defamation. For all these reasons I must hold that there is no case and discharge the accused accordingly, under section 233 C. P. C.

Sd. J. T. RANKIN.
Dist. Magistrate,
25/4/04.

4.5.1904

DEFAMATION

All civilised nations seem to have arrived at a consensus of opinion that, every man who possesses a reputation he values, has an undisputed right to be protected against its detraction. It is his privilege to be left in undisputed possession of it, and any attack, or inuendo, calculated to lower it in public estimation, is regarded not only as a private wrong, but to some extent, as a public offence, or perhaps, we may say rather, as an infringement of public policy ; and with such tenacity is this personal possession guarded, that a man with very few shreds and tatters of character, may proceed legally for redress against any one who seeks to deprive him of them, under conditions recognised as unnecessary, or not calculated to promote public, and in some cases, private interests. Character is supposed, and in justice, rightly so, to be a poor man's stock-in-trade, and a basis of prospective livelihood, hence any unprovoked endeavour to degrade it, and thus to weaken his chances of providing for himself and his family, is properly regarded as punishable. And this is held so strictly to be an emanation of natural equity , that cases have been known of penalty following, where persons previously convicted of infractions of law have unnecessarily been assailed by imputations proved to be true.

before a duly-constituted court of justice. For example. a man may be said to be entitled to redress for libel, because unnecessarily termed a thief, although convicted at some time, of having committed theft ; and even a female, whose previous career has admittedly been very un Pamela-like, has been deemed to have good cause of action for an imputation unprovokedly and unjustifiably cast upon her chastity. There are, however, situations in life in which character may be assailed and credit lowered, with perfect immunity from legal consequences. A, let us suppose, is a candidate for a position of public trust, B., a Journalist, writes of him—"We hold him to be untrustworty, hence ineligible, since he emerged from such and such a prosecution, with a very damaged character." Supposing this to be true, written in good faith, and for "the public good," B would be justified in his comments. Again, A contemplates entering into partnership with B. but C., A's guardian, cautions him against B, alleging that he knows him to be of tainted principle, and he advances this allegation *bona fide,* to protect his ward. C would be held justified. And there are numerous other situations in which words defamatory in themselves, if taken co-ordinately, devasted of their concomitants, cease to be so legally, when read in connection with circumstances that import into them a significance that a jurist will regard as emancipating them from culpability. An interesting instance, adjudged to be of this nature, has just occurred in our midst, respecting which, a few remarks may, perhaps, not be out of place to those unacquainted with law, and how legal liability may be brought home to them, without any intention on their part to implicate themselves by our district-Magistrate, and upheld in a revisional judgment, by our district-Judge, sitting as an appellate Court. From there two public documents, it would appear that Baboo Abinash Chandra Roy. of a respectable family in Bengal, met, in this station, a College acquaintances, in Mr. Harinath De, a Professor of Dacca College who showed him kindness and *hospitality, and* sought to promote his interests in various ways. Circumstances arose subsequently, that led to a disagreement that later developed into a criminal action for defamation. Abinash Chandra Roy, as complainant, alleged that Mr. De had said of him that he might abscond with a sum of (we believe) ninety rupees, that had been collected as proceeds from sale of certain raffle tickets ; secondly. it was charged that Mr. De had said of Abinash Chandra Ray that he is a dishonest man and a blackguard ; thirdly, by Mr. De having alleged of Abinash Chandra Ray that, a recent case brought by this A. C. Roy against one Lal Mohan Shaha of this town is false, and was instituted with an object of extorting money from Lal Mohan

Shaha. Other statements also appear, some of which, we read, "might wisely have been omitted." In his judgement, our district-Magistrate remarks of accused :—

"This, accused evidently said only once, and that in a private conversation. He did nothing to spread a rumour to this effect, and it is not on (in?) evidence that, he ever said he believed what he had heard."

Let us without preamble, state clearly that, we do not believe Mr. De intended that his words should be spread beyond those who heard them, and we fully believe that, in both courts, he has met with abstract justice. Still, we question if, according to technical law, whether he said it once or twice would have made any difference, and had he said he believed what was current and had come to him as a rumour, we are puzzled to know in what way he could possibly have implicated himself in a libel. Expression of a *bonâ fide* belief has been construed as the antipodes to defamation. If it be known, or admitted that, there was such a rumour current, an expression of belief in its truth would be harmless. But our district Magistrate may not, perhaps, be aware that, this has been laid down authoritatively, beyond dispute. Every man has an undoubted right to hold any belief he chooses, and should a report gain currency affecting a man's character injuriously, and A declare "I believe it to be true," no court in existence can convict him of defamation. It is apparently, not in evidence that Mr. De said as much. Thus, then, his defamation of Abinash Chandra Ray has been dismissed, as it amounts, in this special direction, to a myth—so, in effect, we read. There is more than this possible to be seized upon, as matter for argument, and in clever hands, it might have been put to some account. If we turn to section 499, Indian Penal Code, we shall find :—

"Whoever, by words either spoken, or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representations, makes, or publishes any imputation concerning any person, intending to harm, or knowing, or having reason, to believe that such imputation will harm, the reputation of such person, is said, except in the cases hereinafter' excepted, to defame that person."

Now our readers will see at a glance that, there is not a word about spreading a rumour. It is sufficient to utter, and only one issue seemed in this part of Mr. De's case to suggest itself for consideration, as bringing home guilt to him—that is, had he given utterance to words *intending to harm*, or having reason to believe that such imputation would harm, & Co. herein, lies Mr. De's strong point. There is neither testimony nor implication that, he

inten-ded by words to injure, or knew, or had reason to believe they were likely to injure. It does not matter whether he uttered them once only, or did or did not believe a report he had heard to be true, or attempted to give it circulation. Had he done all this, he could not have escaped conviction, but where is there a scrap of evidence that he had? Where are we to look for a guilty mind, stimulated by an evil intention?

11 5.1904

DACCA MUSLINS

Sir George Watt recently delivered a lecture in London on cotton improvement. He went into some details and ambiguities regarding literature collated on this—to us, in India, interesting—subject, his object being to exemplify the necessity for a more accurate and precise basis in order to make it possible for can cotton country to take full advantage of knowledge and experience gained in another, and thus be enabled to guard against self-evident failure and loss of time. There can be no doubt that, our far famed centres of Indian cotton manufacture originated, or were originated, by existence of specially suitable cotton in that locality. These were, doubtless, a final expression of centuries of adaptation and selection. Some of our finer Dacca muslins were woven of yarns that measured 400's to 606's. But Arni, Chanderi, Kota, Rhotak, and Benares were, and, to some extent, are still, each famed for their fine muslins. Dr. James Taylor republished in 1851, an exhaustive account of muslins manufactured in Dacca. He tells us that, a skein of yarn measured in his presence, proved to be two hundred and fifty miles in length to a pound of cotton. But cotton spun into yarn of such fineness was not long-stapled. Dr. Taylor tells us in fact that, it was so short, as to be unsuited for machine-spinning, nevertheless, Dacca spinners were able to produce a finer result with their own cotton, than when furnished (as they were by De. Taylor) with the finest long-staple cottons of America. This fibre has a tendency to expand with moisture, and that is a criterion by which native spinners judge of its suitability for fine spinning. English yarn, moreover, swells on being bleached, whilst Dacca spun thread shrinks and becomes stronger and finer the more frequently it is bleached. It would thus appear probable that English spinners may still have something to learn from handworkers which might possible lead to spinning considerably shorter staples than are at present considered possible.[১০]

14.5.1904

FRESH WATER

Last week, we endeavoured to demonstrate how difficult it is in Mofussil Bengal to preserve fresh water for purely drinking purposes, and we promised some suggestions as precautions which may work towards a reformation in this wise, and which. indeed, if enforced, would protect tanks against a system of pollution that is now regarded as natural and orthodox. There is probably, not a tank in Bengal exclusively reserved for a supply of drinking water—of course, we ... Mofussil Bengal—and unless legislation is a motion, non-pollution will be impossible. And is this? Let any experienced Mofussil officer, European or native, convenanted or uncovenanted, explain and if his power of observation is worth a stra.. will be very much as our's has been. but ... we proceed to publish our experience, it is as that Government should be heard through its capable Secretary, Mr. L. P. Shirres, who, in his letter under notice, has remarked :—

"Contamination of tanks which should be reserved for drinking purposes, where it is not due to failure those interested to clean them out and deepen that is principally owing to their use as places for bathing, for washing clothes and utensils, or for watering cattle. When such neglect of the most element rules of health is due to the backwardness of sanitary education of the people, who prefer to the nearest water available, rather than be put to inconvenience of going a short distance to sa... some of their requirement, little immediate result can be hoped for from the occasional visits of officials."

So far, well. This is a sort of explanation, it is only partial. Every tank, so far as we know excavated by native benevolence, designed for a pure water-supply, is left unguarded. It is usually situation in an empty space, unprotected even by a hedge, is open to anyone who chooses to make use of it, as a drinking water fount only, but for conservative purposes as well. Thus, its banks are polluted, and after a heavy shower of rain, its banks are polluted, render unfit to drink. But this is not considered and obstacle, and water from it is carried home in kulash to be used for various domestic purposes—cooking drinking, & Co.. Of this, Government and its officers appear to be unaware, since we read further as regards tanks not safe from pollution :—

'In such case, the Government must look to the influence of educated native gentlemen in the mufssal, by precept and example, gradually to lead the fellow-countrymen into the more excellent way. At the same time, although the exhortations and advice of officials may for the time being appear to thrown away.

they can scarcely fail to have an educative influence which may bear fruit at a later date."

To look to any private influence to subvert habit that have been in full exercise for centuries, is to lean upon a broken reed. What native gentleman of position would use his private influence in preventing tank contamination? In what grade of life should we be likely to find such gentlemen. To place before a native gentleman of culture and understanding, plain facts, and ask him to decide upon them, would be merely to elicit from him a declaration that such and such practices are in themselves highly objectionable, and calculated to produce insanitary results. But would he consent to transform himself into a special constable in the interests of sanitation? Assuredly not. How then, can tanks be protected? We have an easy solution to this difficulty. Let each tank exavacator select his site in some well populated townlet or hamlet ; let him dedicate his act of benevolence to a public purpose, vesting his tank in Government, as trust property, and registering it as such...

Bengal Council's Act, declared itself the guardian of all such behests, making it penal to foul them in any way ; with signboard notifying offences and their probable penalties. This we presume, is one way. There are doubtless others one or two of which we may, perhaps, mention in later issues We read on in effect that, when additional tanks, or wells are really required, zemindars concerned should be asked to modify conditions usually imposed by them in such cases. These conditions are generally extremely onerous, and when drinking-water is really and urgently required, are unfairly restrictive. A notable example of withdrawal of such restriction was seen in North Bhagalpur in 1901-1902. At that time, scarcity was apprehended in certain comparatively small portions of that district, and zemindars consequently allowed tanks to be dug freely within areas affected, with a result that, in a short time private contributors expended nearly half-a-lakh of rupees in digging tanks. It is not necessary to press for a universal relaxation of these conditions, for those who excavate tanks from purely religious motives, do not always do it where tanks are most required, or even where they are required at all. Conditions which our Lieutenant Governor has attached to grants which he has promised to make, are for purposes of securing primarily, that money should be judiciously spent. When villagers are willing to contribute, and when District Boards are also agreeable to do so, our Lieutenant-Governor is prepared to accept these facts as sufficient assurance that money is required, and that it will be properly and economically expended. Next, these conditions secure also that money will not be given unless it is supplemented,

and thus is stretched to its utmost limit. A consideration of even more importance is that, when expended in a manner indicated, it will be used to foster, instead of to stunt growth of selfhelp and self-reliance. One of our principal objects of Local Self-Government policy is to secure that both Government and its subjects shall co-operate in advancing general interests. And a hope is expressed that this object will be kept steadily in view. During this current year, and until our Local Self Government Act of 1885 is amended, as indicated, expenditure will probably be mainly confined to excavation of new tanks or wells, because at present, district Boards cannot legally expend their funds to maintain tanks or wells which belong to private individuals. His Honour, however, considers it right that this should be so, for places where new tanks or wells are really required, have clearly a first claim to assistance from Government. It seems to us our suggestion of registering and dedicating tanks and wells cannot fail to hold out an encouragement to zemindars of substance and position, that they will avail themselves of with eagerness, as marking official recognition of their attitude as public benefactors, and open, public approval is what pleases a zemindar, since he knows it to be a fair indication of something to follow.

16 6.1904

OVERGROWN JUNGLE

To the Editor, *Bengal Times*

Sir--In several numbers of your esteemed paper, you have protested with vigour and justice against a Municipal apathy that will suffer fever and other complaints to decimate a locality sooner than exert itself to remove its causes A spirit of listlessness and a habit of apathy have never served any good purpose, and they seem to be serving a very bad one now, so far as Municipal care for Wari is concerned, as the place is teeming with overgrown jungle, which breeds malaria, because of which, several deaths occur annually--an avoidable cause that any man of common humanity and compassion, should interfere to prevent from becoming a source of mortality. I trust our officiating-Commissioner will see to this matter, which is becoming more serious daily.

Yours faithfully,
A FEAVER PATIENT

[We can point to jungle from six feet high and upwards next door to our dwelling, and to a great deal more all round our neighbourhood A word from our Commissioner would have a good effect. Ed. B. T.]

10 9.1904

K. M. YOUSUFF

Last week, a correspondent wrote—"After your many appeals to Mr. K. M. Yousuff, as Municipal Vice-Charman, to have overgrown jungle reduced in Wari, I see that, not a blade of grass has, to outward appearance, been out. I cannot understand such apathy in Mr. Yousuff. He seems to me to be an intelligent and an enlightened man amenable to honest conviction. When it was pointed out to him that, overgrown jungle was causing people to suffer from fever, it was his clear duty to take steps to put it down, that people might have a chance to keep their health. It seems to me he was very remiss in meeting his responsibilities and his conduct has disappointed many who hoped better from him. I am for one. But let us not judge too hastily. Mr. Yousuff may not have seen our remarks · he may not have felt justified in employing extra labour, without seeing and judging for himself ; or some other reason may have prevented his taking action. Contrariwise, he may have directed his subordinates to do all that was necessary, without being obeyed. He has been so energetic hitherto, we feel reluctant to blame him. His heart has heretofore been in his work. Why should it not be now?[৯১]

19 10.1904

PROGRAMME
OF THE
DACCA RACES

SEASON 1904-1905
Under C. T. C Rules of Racing
STEWARDS :

THE HON'BLE NAWAB SALIMOLLAH BAHADUR.	**W. a. COURT BEADON, ESQ.**
H. C. STREATFEILD, ESQ, I. C. S.	**G. MORGAN, ESQ.**
J. T. RANKIN, ESQ., I. C. S.	**LT. COL. R. N. CAMPBELL, I. M. S.**

Honorary Secretary :— C. H. HOLDER, ESQ

FIRST DAY, TUESDAY, 10TH JANUARY, 1905

THE GUNNY MEAH PURSE.—Rs. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second pony to receive Rs. 100 out of the entire stakes. For ponies 14/2 and under. English and Australasian ponies 14/2 to carry 9st. 71bs. C. B ponies 14/2 to carry 8st., Arab ponies 14/2 carry 6st. 91bs. W. I. Penalties—winners after 31st March, 1902, of

a race value Rs. 200, 7lbs. ; of a race value Rs. 900 or over 11lbs. (not cumulative). Winners of races value Rs. 200 or upwards amounting in the aggregate .Rs. 2,000 or over, since 31st March, 1903, 7lbs. in addition to other penalties. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40, 1,000 yards.

THE TRIAL PLATE.—Rs. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third pony Rs. 50 out of the entire stakes. For Arabs and c. b's 14/c and other ponies 13/3 and under. English and Australasian ponies 13/3 to carry 9st. 7lbs., Arabs and c. B. ponies 14/c to carry 8st. 12lbs. Entrance 1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40, Three-quarter mile.

THE CACHAR PURSE.—Rs. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third pony Rs. 50 out of the entire stakes. For Arabe and c. B. S 13.0 and other ponies 12.3 and under. English and Australasian penies 12/3 to carry 9st. 7lbs. Arabs and C. B. ponies 13/o to carry 8st. 12lbs. Entrance—1st November, Rs 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40, 1 000 yards.

THE DWARF DERBY.—Rs. 300, out of which Rs. 75 will go to the second and Rs. 50 to the third pony. For C. B. ponies 12/2 and under. Ponies 12/2 to carry 9st. 7lb.s W. I Penalties—Winners of a race value Rs. 50 or over, 7lbs. No license jockeys allowed to ride. Entrance—Rs. 8, to close on 22nd December., One-half mile.

THE NARAYANGANJ PURSE.—Rs 500, with starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second ponv to receive Rs. 100 out of the entire stakes. For Arabs 14/2 c. B S 14/1, and other ponies 14/o and under. English and Australasian ponies 14/0 to carry 9st. 7lbs. : C. B. ponies 14/1 to carry 9st.; Arab ponies 14/2 to carry 8st. 7lbs. W.I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1902, of a race value Rs. 200, 7lbs., of a race valuee Rs. 900 or over, 11lbs. (not cumulative). Winners of races value Rs. 200 or upwards amounting in the aggregate to Rs. 2,000 or over since 31st March, 1903. 7lbs. in addition to other penalties. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40, 1,00 yards.

THE ASSAM PURSE.—Rs. 500, with a starting sweepstake of Rs, 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third pony Rs. 50 out of the entire stakes. For Arabs and C. B. 13/2 and other ponies 13/1 and under English and Australasian ponies 13/1 to carry 9st. 7lbs. ; Arab ponies 13/2 to carry 9st. 2lbs. ; C. B. ponies 13/2 to carry 8st. 21lbs. Entrance—1st Novembers, Rs., 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40. Seven furlongs.

SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, 12TH JANUARY, 1905

THE BARISAL PURSE.—Rs. 500, with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second pony to receive Rs. 100, and the third pony Rs. 50 out of the entire stakes. A handicap for Arabs and C. B S 14/0 and other ponies 13/3 and under. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs 40, 1,000 yards.

THE K. A. O PURSE.— Rs. 1,500 presented to the Fund by the heirs of the late Nawab Sir Ahsunollah Bahadur, K. C. I E. of which Rs. 300 to the second and Rs. 200 to the third. For Arabs 14/2, C. B's 14/1, and other ponies 14/0 and under, English and Australasian ponies 14/0 to carry 9st. 7lbs. ; C. B. ponies 14/1 to carry 9st. ; Arab ponies 14/2 to carry 8st. 7lb. W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1902, of a race value Rs 200, 7lbs ; of a race value Rs 900 or over, 11lbs (not cumulative). Winners of races value Rs 200 or upwards amounting in the aggregage to Rs 2,000 or over since 31st March, 1903, 7lbs. in addition to other penalties. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 50, 1st Decembers, Rs. 75, 1st January, when race will close Rs 100 Seven furlongs.

THE SYLHET PURSE.—Rs 500, with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second pony to receive Rs 100, and the third pony Rs. 50 out of the entire stakes. A handicap for Arabs and C. B.'s 13/0 and other ponies 12/3 and under, Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40. Six furlongs.

THE SALIMOLLAH PURSE.— Rs. 1,000 presented to the fund by the Hon'ble Nawab Salimollah Bahadur, of which Rs 200 to the second and Rs. 100 to the third pony. For Arabs and C. B.'s 13/2, other ponies 13/1 and under. English and Anstralasian ponies 13/1 to carry 9st. 7lbs. Arab ponies 13/2 to carry 9st. 2lbs , C. B. ponies 13/2 to carry 8st. 2lbs. W. I. Penalties—Winners of a race value Rs 200 or over 4lbs. Winner of the Assam Plate, the first day, 7lb.s in addition to other penalties. Entrance—1st November, Rs 20, 1st December, Rs. 30, 1st January, when race will close, Rs., 50, 1,000 yards.

THE STEWARDS' PURSE.— Rs. 250 of which Rs. 50 to the second, Rs. 80 to the third, and Rs 20 to the fourth. For C. B's 12/1 and under Ponies 12/1 to carry 9st. 7lbs W. I. Penalties—Winners of a race value Rs. 50 or over, 7lbs. No licensed jockeys allowed to ride, Entrance—Rs. 8 to close 22nd December. Seven furlongs.

THE ATTICKOLLAH PURSE.—Rs. 500. presented to the Fund by Khajeh Attickollah, of Dacca, to the winner, Rs 100 to the second A handicap for ponies 14/2 and under Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs.

40, with Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m. on Tuesday, 10th January. Six furlongs. 200 from the Fund to the winner, its, 100 .... second, and Rs 50 to the third pony. A handicap for ponies 14/2 and under, entered the first and second days. Entrance—1st November, Rs 20, 1st December, Ifs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 30, with Rs 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m. on Thursday, 12th January. One and a quarter mile.

THE .. RITERION HANDICAP.—Rs 250, of which Rs. 50 to the second, and Rs 25 to the third. A handicap for .. 12/1 and under Entrance—Rs 8 to close on 22nd December with Rs. to extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m on Thursday, 12th January. No licensed jockeys allowed to ride. Six furlongs.

THE DILKOSHA PALTE.— Rs. 500, with a starting swespatake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third pony Rs. 50 our of the entire stakes. A handicap for Arabs 14/2 CBs 14/1, other ponies 14/o and under, entered the first and second days. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, at December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 30, with Rs 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m. on Thursday, 12th January. One and a quarter mile.

THE MERCHANTS PURSE.—Rs. 500, with a starting sweepstake of Rs., 20, second to receive Rs. 100 and the third pony Rs. 50 out of the entire stakes. A handicap for Arabs and C-B's 4/o and other ponies 13/3 and under, entered the first and second days. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 30, with Rs. 20 Extra for ponies not struck our by 7 p. m. on Thursday. 12th Jannary. One and a quarter mile.

THE JANUARY PLATE. RS. 500, with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100 and the third Rs. 50, out of the entire stakes. A handicap for Arabs and C-B's 13/o and other ponies 12/3 and under, entered the first and second days. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 20, 1st December, Rs. 25, 1st January when race will close, Rs 30, with Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m. on Thursday, 12th January. One mile.

THE JOYDEBPUR CUP. Value. Rs. 1,000 presented to the Fund by Kumar Ranendra Narayan Roy, of Joydebpur, to the winner, Rs. 100 to the second, and Rs. 50 to the third. A handicap for Arabs and C-n's 13/2 and other ponies 13/1 and under. entered the first and second days. Entrance—1st November, Rs. 25, 1st December, Rs. 30, 1st January, when race will close, Rs. 40, with Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m. on Thursday, 12th January. one mile.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

1. In the event of there being less than six entries for any race, such race may be declared void.

In the event of a walk-over only half the added money will be given under Rule 140.

No third money will be given if there are less than five starters.

2. All riders to ride in colours, starting declarations (which must include rider's colours and weights to be carried) to be made to the Honorary Secretary at 10 a. m. the day before the race. Jockey's fee for losing mount, if not already paid, must accompany starting declarations.

3. In all races, other than selling races and handicaps, a landing allowance of 6lbs. will be given to every English and Australasian horse and pony landed in India direct from the country of foaling on or after the 1st July, 1904, the allowance one race and to cease on his winning two races.

4. Owners are entirely responsible for the weight their own horses or ponies should carry and any mistake in the programme shall be notified by owners or trainers in charge to the Clerk of the Scales who will notify such alteration on the Stewards' Notice Board.

5. A coruse fee of Rs. 5 will be charged for each horse or pony entered for the Dacca Meeting and trained or schooled on the Dacca Course between 1st November, 1904 and 20th January, 1905 and a course fee of Rs. 10 for every horse or pony between those dates and not so entered.

6. When a race is advertised to close on a particular day, it shall, unless otherwise specified, close at 7 p. m. on that day.

7. Entries must be accompanied by a remittance for the full amount of such entries, otherwise, they will be declined.

8. When a remittance is made to the Secretary without specifying the way in which it is to be applied, the money will be credited to the *stakes* in the order of the programme.

NOTICE

Admission to grand stand enclosure, Rs. 5 a day, Ladies, Rs. 2, subscribers of Rs. 16 to the Fund, free. Losers must settle their account on or before the 9th January.

A POLO TOURNAMENT

Will be held during the meeting, the terms of which will be published hereafter.

3.12.1904

DACCA POLO TOURANAMENT

TO BE HELD DURING THE

DACCA RACE MEET

JANUARY 9TH TO 14TH, 1905

SILVER CUPS presented by the Hon'ble Nawab Salimollah Bahadur, Messrs. J. T Rankin and C. H. Holder will be presented to a the members of the winning team.

Under the I. P. A. Rules of Polo, with the following conditions.

CONDITIONS

1. Open to any team.
2. 36 minutes actual play. divided into periods of 6 minutes, with an interval of 2 minutes between each period, and of one minute after each goal.
3. No entrance fee. Teams are requested to send in their entries as early as possible, so that the necessary arrangements may be made by the Honorary Secretary for stabling, etc, but entries will be accepted up to the 1st January.
4. The right is reserved to the Race Stewards of modifying or altering the conditions

C. H. HOLDER,
Honorary Secretary.
Dacca Races

DACCA RACE OFFICE
12th October, 1904.

টীকা

১. ১৮৪৩ সালে সিভিলিয়ান হিসেবে রোহিলাখণ্ডে জর্জ ক্যাম্পবেল শুরু করেছিলেন কর্মজীবন। বাংলার লেঃ গভর্নর নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন ১৮৭১ সালে এবং সে পদে ছিলেন, ১৮৭৪ পর্যন্ত। তাঁর পূর্বসূরীরা ছিলেন বাংলা ক্যাডারের। সুতরাং বাংলা প্রদেশ সম্পর্কে তাঁদের অভিজ্ঞতা ছিল। ক্যাম্পবেল ছিলেন উত্তর পশ্চিম সীমান্ত প্রদেশ ক্যাডারের। ১৮৭১ সালে তিনি প্রবর্তন করেছিলেন প্রাদেশিক বোর্ড সেসের। প্রথম আদমশুমারীও হয়েছিলো তাঁর আমলে। ক্যাম্পবেল সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করা হয়েছিলো এ বলে যে —

"As a statesman, Sir G Campbell stands foremost among the lieutenant-Governor and it is unpleasant to add that he was the least popular, perhaps he was too earnest and saw too far into the future for ordinary men, perhaps he fell back too completely on 'first principles' and disregarded existing facts." ক্যাম্পবেলের শাসনামলের বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন C. E. Buckland, *Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors.* Vol II New Delhi, 1976 (Reprint).

২ ১৮৫৯ সালের দশ আইনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে জমিদার-কৃষক সম্পর্কে কল্যাণ কুমার সেনগুপ্ত লিখেছেন—

"Under Act X of 1859, which conferred occupancy rights on a large number of ryots, the rents of their particular class of cultivator could be enhanced on three grounds. First, if the ryots rents were below the prevailing rate. Second, if the productive capacity or value of land had increased without otherwise than by the agency of the ryot. Third, if the quality of land held by the ryots proved on measurement greater than that for which rent had been previously paid. The Act of 1859 thus placed great obstacles in the way of the zamindar who sued for an enhancement of his rent." [এরপর রাধারমন মুখোপাধ্যায়ের মতামত উদ্ধৃত করেছেন] "Under the new law, the court demanded from him the proof that the value of the produce had increased in the same proportion in which he asked that his rent should be enhanced. Thus in many cases the Zamindar could not secure the enhancement that was legitimately due to him. Since then, following the abolition of the legal distinction between the khodakhast or resident ryots and Paikasht, many ryots belonging to the former category lost their special purpose non occupancy tenants if they failed to prove twelve years continuous cultivation of a particular piece of land as required under the new law. On the otherhand many paikasht tenants earned the occupancy status by 12 years continuous cultivation of a piece of land. This phenomenon was quite common in all the districts . . where the Rent Act X of 1859 operated."

Kalyan Kumar Sen Gupta, *Pabna Disturbances and Politics of Rent*, New Delhi. 1974, pp 14-15.

৩. রিচার্ড টেম্পল ১৮৪৭ সালে কোম্পানির সিভিল সার্ভিসে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন রাইটার হিসেবে। ১৮৭৪ সালে নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন তিনি বাংলার লেঃ গভর্নর এবং সে পদে ছিলেন ১৮৭৭

পর্যন্ত। এরপর তিনি বোম্বাইয়ের গভর্নরও হয়েছিলেন, বেশ কিছু গ্রন্থও রচনা করেছিলেন। পূর্ববর্তী লেঃ গভর্নর ক্যাম্পবেলের আরব্ধ কাজ সমাপন করতেই তাঁর সময়কাল ব্যয় হয়েছে। টেম্পল সম্পর্কে একটি পত্রিকা মন্তব্য করেছিলো

"Although he was during nearly the whole course of his life been placed in positions of great authority and responsibility, it may be said that he has enjoyed the rare fortune of never making an enemy, a fact which undoubtedly due to his unvarying sense of justice and to his kindness of heart."

৪. দ্বারকানাথ ঠাকুর ১৮৩৮ সালে 'Bengal Landholders Association' এবং ১৮৪৩ সালে জর্জ টমসন Bengal British India Society করেছিলেন। ১৮৫১ সালের ৩১ অক্টোবর এ দুটি সভা মিলে গঠিত হয় ব্রিটিশ ইন্ডিয়ান অ্যাসোসিয়েসন। রাজা রাধাকান্ত দেব এর সভাপতি ও দেবেন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর সম্পাদক মনোনীত হন। সমিতির প্রতিষ্ঠাতা সদস্যদের মধ্যে ছিলেন, প্রসন্নকুমার ঠাকুর, জয়কৃষ্ণ মুখোপাধ্যায়, রমানাথ ঠাকুর, দিগম্বর মিত্র, কালীপ্রসন্ন সিংহ, রাজেন্দ্রলাল মিত্র, কৃষ্ণদাস পাল, হরিশ্চন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায়, রাজা কালীপ্রসন্ন দেব প্রমুখ। ভোলানাথ চন্দ্র লিখেছেন —

"There was the Landholders society, started by Babu Dwarkanath Tagore with the object of protecting Zamindari rights and interests. Then there was the Bengal British India Society, which, in response to a Society of similar designation in England. had, on thursday, the 20th April, 1843, been ushered into existence by the joint efforts of the George Thomson, and of that small but determined band of rising-men called young Bengal—the Society which marked an era in native history by its being the earliest pioneer in the path of our political life. The one represented the aristocracy of wealth the other the aristocracy of intelligence The two bodies existed under different names, though many of their members were the same men, and who agreed on many points in their common purpose of political amelioration Happily for the country, the hour of awakening had arrived and they who languished mutually came to be of the opinion that disintegration was weakness, union strength, so they turned their attention to the convergence of their efforts and the reciprocated overtures for an alliance and amalgamation met with welcome from all concerned The preliminaries being settled, the two bodies, dropping their different names, and bringing each other a reinforcement of strength, coalesced and merged themselves into one, under the common designation of the British Indian Association. This famous native political institution, the parent of all political institutions in India ..."

মূলত জমিদারদের মুখপত্র হিসেবে পরিচিত হয়ে উঠলেও সমিতি বিভিন্ন সময়ে ভারতবর্ষীয় বিভিন্ন বিষয় নিয়েও কথা বলেছে বিশেষ করে ১৮৫৭ থেকে ১৮৮৫ এর মধ্যে।

Bholanauth Chunder, *Raja Digamber Mitra, His Life and Career*, Calcutta, 1893.

Manju Chattopadhyay, *Petition to Agitation*, Calcutta, 1985.

বিনয় ঘোষ, *সাময়িকপত্রে বাংলার সমাজচিত্র*, প্রথম খণ্ড, কলকাতা, ১৯৬২।

৫. ১৭৯৩ সালে লর্ড কর্ণওয়ালিস বাংলা, বিহার, উড়িষ্যায় প্রবর্তন করেছিলেন চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত। ভূমিব্যবস্থা ও রাজস্ব সংক্রান্ত এই আইনের মূল কথা ছিল ভূমির ওপর

জমিদারদের নিরঙ্কুশ মালিকানা স্বীকার। শর্ত ছিল শুধু জমিদার নির্দিষ্ট সময়ে সরকারকে নির্দিষ্ট পরিমাণ খাজনা প্রদান করবেন। এ ভূমি ব্যবস্থা বাংলার আর্থসামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে সৃষ্টি করেছিলো প্রচণ্ড অভিঘাতের। চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্তের ওপর প্রচুর গবেষণা হয়েছে। তবে বিশদ বিবরণ ও বিশ্লেষণের জন্য দেখুন—

Ranajit Guha, *A Rule of Property for Bengal*, Calcutta, 1982.

Serajul Islam, *The Permanent Settlement in Bengal*, Dacca, 1979.

মুনতাসীর মামুন সম্পাদিত, *চিরস্থায়ী বন্দোবস্ত ও বাঙালী সমাজ*, ঢাকা, ১৯৭৬।

৬. পেরু থেকে ক্লিমেন্টস মার্কহাম সিংকোনার চারা নিয়ে আসেন প্রথমে মাদ্রাজে। সেখান থেকে নীলগিরিতে চাষ শুরু হয় সিংকোনার। ১৮৩৫ সাল থেকে বাংলায় সিংকোনা চাষের চিন্তাভাবনা করা হচ্ছিলো। ১৮৬৯ সালে কলকাতা বোটানিক্যাল গার্ডেনের তত্ত্বাবধায়ক ড. থমাস এন্ডারসন জাভা থেকে কিছু চারা এনে কলকাতায় লাগান। পরে সিকিমে চাষ শুরু হয়। ১৮৬৪ সালে বাংলায় স্থায়ীভাবে সিংকোনা চাষের জন্য দার্জিলিংয়ের *রাংবি*-কে বেছে নেয়া হয়। ১৮৭৮ সালের হিসেবে জানা যায় সিংকোনা থেকে সরকারের লাভ হয়েছিলো ১১,০০০ টাকা।

দেখুন, বাকল্যান্ডের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ২২৮–২২৯, ৭০৭।

৭. স্যার জন স্ট্রেচি ছিলেন ইন্ডিয়ান সিভিল সার্ভিসের সদস্য। কেন্দ্র এবং প্রদেশের আর্থনৈতিক সম্পর্কের নীতি নির্ধারণে তিনি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলেন। এ বিষয়ে তিনি যে প্রস্তাবটি তৈরি করেছিলেন তা থেকে খানিকটা উদ্ধৃতি দিচ্ছি—

"The financial control which is thus entrusted to the local Governments is to be exercised subject to certain conditions (as to creation of appointments and changes involving expenditure)

"The Governor-General in Council is fully aware that this Resolution will effect a wide change in Indian administration. It has been adopted after long and careful consideration in which it is promulgated. The Governor-General in council believes that it will produce greater care and economy, that it will impart an element of certainity into the fiscal system which has hitherto been absent, and that it will lend to more harmony in action and feeling between supreme and provincial Governments than has hitherto prevailed . ."

দেখুন, বাকল্যান্ড, *প্রাগুক্ত*. পৃ. ৪৭৫–৭৬।

৮. প্রিন্স অফ ওয়েলস কলকাতা পৌঁছান ১৮৭৫ সালের শেষে, তাঁর আগমন উপলক্ষে ২৩ ডিসেম্বর ১৮৭৫ থেকে ৩ জানুয়ারি ১৮৭৬ বাংলার সমস্ত অফিস আদালত বন্ধ ছিল।

৯. জগদানন্দ মুখোপাধ্যায়ের বাসায় আগমন নিয়ে সমকালীন হিন্দু সমাজে খানিকটা বিতর্ক হয়েছিলো।

১০ *ইংলিশম্যান* ছিল দৈনিক, ছিল 'নেটিব' বিদ্বেষী ও নীলকর সমর্থক।

১১. মেরি কার্পেন্টার ছিলেন ভারত–প্রেমী, সমাজ সংস্কারক ও স্ত্রী শিক্ষায় আগ্রহী। ভারতবর্ষ, বিশেষ করে বাংলায় তার সফর স্ত্রীশিক্ষা বিস্তারে ভূমিকা পালন করেছিলো। সীতানাথ তত্ত্বভূষণ মন্তব্য করেছিলেন —"The visit of Miss Carpenter gave a great impetus to the cause of female education particularly and to social reforms generally all over the country." মিস কার্পেন্টার এক চিঠিতে লিখেছিলেন—

"The subject of female education was the leading motive which prompted my visit to the country. I discovered in India the grand obstacle to its advancement ..."

Sitanath Tattuabhushan, "Female Education". *Social Reform in Bengal*. Calcutta, 1982 (Reprint), 19, 98, 101

১২. 'নেটিভ' প্রত্যযটির অর্থ ও সংজ্ঞার আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন,

'Definition of term Natives of India', *Proceedings in the Home Department*. Govt of India, Calcutta, December, 1872

১৩. আব্দুল লতিফ [খান বাহাদুর, নবাব বাহাদুর, সি. আই. ই ; ১৮২৮–৯৩] জন্মেছিলেন ফরিদপুরে। ভারতীয় মুসলমানদের ইংরেজ সহযোগিতার মাধ্যমে উন্নতির পথ প্রশস্ত করার ব্যাপারে অবদান রেখেছেন। কর্মজীবনের শুরুতে কলকাতা মাদ্রাসায় অধ্যাপনা করেছিলেন কিছুদিন। তারপর যোগ দিয়েছিলেন সরকারি চাকুরিতে। খুলনার কালোরোযায় ডেপুটি ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট থাকাকালীন ১৮৫৩ সালে প্রথম তিনি নীলকরদের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করে দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছিলেন। বিভিন্ন পদে কাজ করার পর অবসর গ্রহণের আগে তিনিই ভারতীয়দের মধ্যে 'সর্বোচ্চ পদ ও বেতনের' অধিকারী হয়েছিলেন। বঙ্গীয় ব্যবস্থাপক সভার সদস্য হয়েছিলেন ১৮৬৩ সালে। মুসলমানদের শিক্ষার প্রসার ও উন্নতির জন্য ঐ বছরই সহায়তা করেছিলেন মহামেডান লিটারেরি সোসাইটি স্থাপনে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন,

Md. Mohar Ali (ed),

Nawab Abdul Latif Khan Bahadur, Autobiography and Other Writings, Chittagong, 1968.

১৪ স্যার এফ. জে. হ্যালিডে ছিলেন বাংলার প্রথম লে. গভর্ণর। বাংলা, বিহার, আসাম ও উড়িষ্যা এর আগে নিয়ন্ত্রিত হতো গভর্ণর জেনারেল এবং কাউন্সিলের মাধ্যমে, ১৮৫৩ সালের চার্টার অ্যাক্টের মাধ্যমে এ নিয়ন্ত্রণ লুপ্ত হয় এবং হ্যালিডে লে. গভর্ণর নিযুক্ত হন।

১৫. লর্ড জর্জ ফ্রেডারিক স্যামুয়েলসন রিপণ [১৮২৭–১৯০৯] ১৮৮০ থেকে ১৮৮৪ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন ভারতের গভর্ণর জেনারেল। তিনি বিশ্বাসী ছিলেন গ্ল্যাডস্টোনীয় উদারনীতিতে। এ কারণে, ভারতবর্ষীয়দের কাছে তিনি ছিলেন জনপ্রিয়। 'ভার্ণাকুলার প্রেস অ্যাক্ট' তিনি বাতিল করেছিলেন এবং স্থাপন করেছিলেন স্বায়ত্তশাসনের ভিত্তি। বিচারক্ষেত্রে বৈষম্য নিরসনের জন্য প্রস্তাব করেছিলেন ইলবার্ট বিলের। এ কারণে, ইংরেজদের কাছে হয়ে উঠেছিলেন আরো অপ্রিয় এবং ভারতবাসীদের কাছে প্রিয়। ভারত ছেড়ে চলে যাবার সময় ভারতবাসীরা তাঁকে জানিয়েছিলো প্রাণঢালা সম্বর্ধনা।

১৬. ইংল্যান্ডের রাজা জন (১১৯৯–১২১৬) ১২১৫ সালে ইংল্যান্ডের ব্যারনদের কাছে নতি স্বীকার করে, তাদের অনেক দাবি স্বীকার করতে বাধ্য হয়েছিলেন। ইংল্যান্ডের জনগণের কাছে তা মুক্তির সনদ নামে পরিচিত। এই দাবিনামায় আছে ৬৩টি অধ্যায়। রাজা জন প্রথমে তাদের দাবি পেয়ে বলেছিলেন :

"Why do they not ask for my kingdom? I will never grant such liberties as will make me a slave "

১৭. *দি স্টেটসম্যান* প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো ১৮৭৫ সালে রবার্ট নাইটের সম্পাদনায়। প্রথমে এর নাম ছিল *দি ইন্ডিয়ান স্টেটসম্যান*। এক পর্যায়ে *ফ্রেন্ড অফ ইন্ডিয়া* পত্রিকাটিও একীভূত হয়ে যায় স্টেটসম্যানের সঙ্গে। এখনকার মতো তখনও *স্টেটসম্যান* ছিল প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকা।

স্টেটসম্যানের সংবাদ সংকলনের জন্য দেখুন— Niranjan Majumdar (compiled) *The Statesman : An Anthology*, Calcutta, 1975.

১৮. বেচারাম চ্যাটার্জি ছিলেন সাপ্তাহিক *বেঙ্গলীর* মালিক ও সম্পাদক। পত্রিকাটি প্রায় বন্ধ হয়ে যাওয়ার উপক্রম হলে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় পত্রিকাটি কিনে নেন। ১৮৭৯ সালের ১ জানুয়ারি তাঁর সম্পাদনায় পত্রিকাটি প্রকাশিত হতে থাকে এবং অচিরেই প্রভাবশালী হয়ে ওঠে। *বেঙ্গলী* প্রকাশের কারণ হিসেবে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ লিখেছেন — "All that I had in view, the sole inspiring impulse, was to serve the public ends with which I had completely identified myself"

Sir Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making*, Calcutta, 1925, pp. 68-73.

১৯. পেশায় ব্যারিস্টার হলেও তুখোর বাগ্মী হিসেবে লালমোহন ঘোষ (১৮৪৯-১৯০৯) ছিলেন খ্যাতিমান। ১৮৭৭ সালে সিভিল সার্ভিসে ভারতীয়দের প্রবেশ দুঃসাধ্য করে তোলার জন্য বয়সসীমা ২২ থেকে কমিয়ে ১৯ করা হলে, ইন্ডিয়া অ্যাসোসিয়েসন এর বিরুদ্ধে হাউস অফ কমনসে আবেদন করার জন্য লালমোহন ঘোষকে প্রেরণ করে। তাঁর বাগ্মীতায় সদস্যরা প্রভাবিত হন এবং সিভিল সার্ভিস সংক্রান্ত ঐ ধারা বাতিল করা হয়। ১৮৮৫ সালে তিনি আবার ব্রিটেন যান এবং লিবারেল পার্টির পক্ষে পার্লামেন্টে নির্বাচন করেন। অবশ্য নির্বাচনে পরাজিত হন। ১৯০৩ সালে মাদ্রাজে কংগ্রেজের সভায় সভাপতিত্ব করেন।

২০. স্যার ইলিজা ইম্পে (১৭৩২-১৮০৯) ছিলেন ওয়ারেন হেস্টিংসের সহপাঠি। তিনি পেশায় ছিলেন ব্যারিস্টার। ১৭৭৩ সালে রেগুলেটিং অ্যাক্ট পাশ হলে তাঁকে কলকাতা সুপ্রীম কোর্টের প্রধান বিচারপতি হিসেবে নিয়োগ করা হয়। ১৭৭৪ সালে তিনি সে ভার গ্রহণ করেন। ১৭৭৫ সালে নন্দকুমারের ফাঁসির আদেশ দেন। হেস্টিংসের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী স্যার ফিলিপ ফ্রান্সিসকে তিনি ৫০,০০০ রূপী জরিমানা করেন। এ সবই করেছিলেন, অনেকের মতে হেস্টিংসের প্রভাবে। তাঁর পক্ষপাতমূলক মনোভাবের কারণে ১৭৮২ সালে তাঁকে ফেরৎ আনা হয় এবং 'ইমপিচ' করার চিন্তা করা হয়েছিলো। পরে অবশ্য তা করা হয় নি। ১৭৯০ সালে পার্লামেন্টে তিনি নির্বাচিত হন, ১৭৯৬ সাল পর্যন্ত পার্লামেন্ট সভ্য ছিলেন।

২১. ১৭৫৭ সালে, নবাব সিরাজউদদৌলার সময় নন্দকুমার ছিলেন হুগলীর ফৌজদার। ইংরেজরা চন্দননগর আক্রমণ করলে নন্দকুমার তাঁর সৈন্য সরিয়ে নিয়ে যান। অনেকের ধারণা, ইংরেজরা তাঁকে উৎকোচ দিয়েছিলো। পলাশীর যুদ্ধের পর ১৭৬৪ সালে সম্রাট শাহ আলম তাঁকে মহারাজ উপাধি দিয়েছিলেন। একই বছর ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানী ওয়ারেন হেস্টিংসকে সরিয়ে নন্দকুমার-কে বর্ধমানের কালেক্টর নিযুক্ত করে। পরে তাঁকে বাংলার নায়েব নিযুক্ত করা হয়। কিছুদিন পর অবশ্য রেজা খান তাঁর স্থলাভিষিক্ত হন।

হেস্টিংস গভর্নর জেনারেল হলে নন্দকুমারের সঙ্গে দ্বন্দ্ব শুরু হয়। ১৭৭৫ সালে নন্দকুমার কাউন্সিলে হেস্টিংসের বিরুদ্ধে দুর্নীতির অভিযোগ আনেন। এর পরপর কাউন্সিল সদস্য বারওয়েল নন্দকুমারের বিরুদ্ধে ষড়যন্ত্রের অভিযোগ তোলেন। দু'টি মামলার শুনানীর প্রস্তুতি যখন চলছে তখন জনৈক মোহন প্রসাদ নন্দলালের নামে জালিয়াতির অভিযোগ আনেন। সুপ্রীম কোর্ট অতি দ্রুত এই মামলার শুনানী শেষ করে নন্দলালকে দোষী সাব্যস্ত করে ফাঁসীর হুকুম দেয়।

সংক্ষিপ্তসারের জন্য, Sachchidananda Bhattacharya, *A Dictionary of Indian History*, Calcutta, 1972, p. 673

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য, Henry Beveridge, *Trial of Maharaza Nanda Kumar*

২২. ১৮৬৮ সালের ২০ ফেব্রুয়ারি, যশোরের পলুয়া-মাগুড়া গ্রাম থেকে একটি কাঠের প্রেস অবলম্বন করে শিশির কুমার ঘোষ প্রকাশ করেছিলেন *অমৃত বাজার পত্রিকা*। ১৮৬৯ সালের ২৫ ফেব্রুয়ারি থেকে *অমৃতবাজারে* ইংরেজি রচনাও স্থান পেতে থাকে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, অনাথ নাথ বসু, *মহাত্মা শিশিরকুমার ঘোষ*, কলকাতা।

২৩. ১৮৭৮ সালে লর্ড লিটন সংবাদপত্র বিশেষ করে দেশীয় সংবাদপত্রসমূহের কণ্ঠ রোধ করার জন্য জারী করে 'ভার্নাকুলার প্রেস অ্যাক্ট'। ভারতীয়রা এর বিরুদ্ধে প্রবল প্রতিবাদ জানিয়েছিলো। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন,

B. S. Kesavan, *History of Printing and Publishing in India* Vol I, New Delhi, 1985

২৪. আর্ল ক্যানিং ছিলেন ভারতবর্ষের প্রথম ভাইসরয়। ১৮৫৬ থেকে ১৮৬২ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন তিনি ভারতবর্ষের গভর্নর জেনারেল। তাঁর সময়কালের সবচেয়ে উল্লেখযোগ্য ঘটনা ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহ। ১৮৫৮ সালে রাণী ভিক্টোরিয়া কোম্পানীর কাছ থেকে ভারতবর্ষের শাসনভার গ্রহণ করলে ক্যানিং প্রথম ভাইসরয় হয়েছিলেন। ১৮৫৯ সালে 'রেন্ট অ্যাক্ট' পাশ করে রায়তদের তিনি খানিকটা সুবিধা দিয়েছিলেন। ১৮৫৭ সালে, কলকাতা, বোম্বাই ও মাদ্রাজে তিনটি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ও প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন তিনি। ভারতীয় প্রশাসন ও আইনের ক্ষেত্রেও তিনি অবদান রেখেছিলেন উল্লেখযোগ্য কিছু সংস্কার করে।

২৫. ইংরেজ সিভিলিয়ানদের একটি প্রিয় বুলি ছিল '*কোই হ্যায*'। এ ভাবে তারা বয়-বেয়ারাদের সম্বোধন করতেন।

২৬. নিরোর পুরো নাম লুসিয়াস ডোমিটিয়াস আহেনোবারবাস নিরো (খ্রিস্টাব্দ ৩৭-৬৮)। রোমের সম্রাট হিসেবে মাত্র ১৭ বছর বয়সে শাসন শুরু করেন। রোমক ইতিহাসের সবচেয়ে নিষ্ঠুর ও কুখ্যাত শাসক হিসেবে খ্যাত; বৈমাত্রেয় ভাই ও মাতাকেও হত্যা করেছিলেন। ৬৮ খৃস্টাব্দে এক বিদ্রোহে ক্ষমতাচ্যুত ও মৃত্যুদণ্ডে দণ্ডিত হন কিন্তু নিজেই আত্মহত্যা করেন।

২৭. পুরো নাম গাইয়াস সিজার অগাস্টাস জার্মানিকাস (১২-৪১ খৃ.)। তৃতীয় এই রোমান সম্রাট যিনি ক্যালিগুলা নামে পরিচিত, তার আচরণের সঙ্গে অন্য কোন রোমান সম্রাটের আচরণের কোন মিল নেই। তার মতো নিষ্ঠুর সম্রাট খুব কমই ছিল। তিনি নাকি আফসোস করে বলেছিলেন, রোমানদের দুটি করে মাথা থাকলে ভালো হতো, তা'হলে তরবারীর এক কোপে তা কাটা যেতো না। চার বছরের শাসনের পর তাকে হত্যা করা হয়।

২৮. প্রায় দু'হাজার বছর আগে রোমানরা যখন গল ও ব্রিটেন জয় করেন তখন দেখেন কেল্টিকদের অনেকে ড্রুয়িড নামক পুরোহিতদের আধিপত্য স্বীকার করে বাস করেন। ড্রুয়িডদের সম্পর্কে তেমন কিছু জানা যায় না কারণ তারা তাদের রীতিনীতি লিখে যান নি। লেখা বারণ ছিল। তারা বিশ্বাস করতেন আত্মা অমর এবং তা এক দেহ থেকে আরেক দেহে স্থানান্তর হয় মাত্র।

২৯. জে. পি. গ্রান্ট বা জন পিটার গ্রান্ট (১৮০৭-১৮৯৩) ছিলেন বাংলার দ্বিতীয় লেফটেন্যান্ট গভর্ণর। কার্যভার গ্রহণ করেছিলেন ১ নভেম্বর ১৮৫৯ সালে। একত্রিশ বছর প্রশাসনের বিভিন্ন পদে চাকুরির পর তিনি এ নিযুক্তি পেয়েছিলেন। ১৮৬২ পর্যন্ত ছিলেন এ পদে। গ্রান্ট সম্পর্কে বলা হয়েছে —

"Grant is described as combining 'an idolent sleepy manner' with 'extraordinary activity of mind' and of having 'large and liberal views' but 'retiring and inaccessible habits. His report. . . were considered the 'best state papers recorded by the Government of the day' He was able to uncover

the questions which lay at the heart of complex issues and to argue his case with irrefutable logic." Blair B. Kling, *The Blue Mutiny*, Calcutta, 1977, pp, 73-74. নীল কমিশন গঠিত হয়েছিলো তাঁর আমলে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন — C. E. Buckland, *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governor*, New Delhi, 1976 (Reprint) vol I. pp, 163-271

৩০. ঢাকার নায়েব নাজিমদের খাজাঞ্চি ছিলেন লক্ষীনারায়ণ মিত্র। বংশীলোচন মিত্র তাঁর পুত্র, ফুলবাড়িয়ায় ছিল তাঁদের প্রাসাদোপম অট্টালিকা। দেখুন,
S. M Taifoor, *Glimpses of old Dhaka*, Dhaka, 1984

৩১. এ. সি. রায় বা আনন্দচন্দ্র রায় (১৮৪৪–১৯৩৫) ছিলেন ঢাকা তথা পূর্ববঙ্গের একজন প্রভাবশালী নাগরিক। তিনি ছিলেন জমিদার ও ঢাকার একজন প্রধান ও প্রভাবশালী আইনজীবী। এ প্রভাব তিনি আরো বিস্তৃত করেছিলেন সমাজ সেবা ও রাজনীতির মাধ্যমে।

ঢাকা পৌরসভায় নির্বাচন প্রথা শুরু হলে আনন্দচন্দ্র তাতে অংশগ্রহণ করেছিলেন। ১৮৮৪ সালের ঢাকা পৌরসভার প্রথম নির্বাচনে পাঁচ নম্বর ওয়ার্ড থেকে বিনা প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতায় নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন আনন্দচন্দ্র। আগে পৌসভার চেয়ারম্যান মনোনীত হতেন ডিস্ট্রিক্ট ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট। এ নির্বাচনের পর নির্বাচিত কমিশনাররা ঠিক করলেন পৌরসভার চেয়ারম্যান তারাই নিবাচিত করবেন। এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বিনা প্রতিদ্বন্ধিতায় তিনি ঢাকা পৌরসভার চেয়ারম্যান নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন।

বঙ্গভঙ্গ আন্দোলনের সময়, সরকারী প্রস্তাব বিরোধিতা করার জন্য আনন্দচন্দ্র পুনরুজ্জীবীত করেন জনসাধারণ সভা। 'পূর্ব বঙ্গ জমিদার সভা' বঙ্গীয় ব্যবস্থাপক সভারও ছিলেন তিনি সদস্য, জগন্নাথ কলেজের অছি। ঢাকায় অনুষ্ঠিত বঙ্গীয় প্রাদেশিক সম্মেলনের (১৯১২) অভ্যর্থনা কমিটির সভাপতি। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য, *সংসদ বাঙালী চরিতাভিধান*, পৃ. ৩৬।

৩২. এখানে কলেজ বলতে ঢাকা কলেজকে বোঝানো হয়েছে। পূর্ববঙ্গে পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষার প্রধান প্রতিষ্ঠান ছিল ঢাকা কলেজ। ১৮৩৫ সালে ঢাকার নাগরিকদের চাঁদায় প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো একটি ইংরেজি স্কুল যা এখন পরিচিত কলেজিয়েট স্কুল নামে। ১৮৪১ সালে এর সঙ্গে যুক্ত হয়েছিলো ঢাকা সেন্ট্রাল কলেজ। পরবর্তীতে ঢাকা কলেজ নামেই এ কলেজ বিখ্যাত হয়ে উঠেছিলো। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, Sharifuddin Ahamed, *Dacca*, London, 1986

৩৩. কৈলাশচন্দ্র ঘোষ শুধু ঢাকা কলেজিয়েট স্কুলের প্রধান শিক্ষকই ছিলেন না, তিনি ছিলেন পূর্ব বাঙলা ব্রাহ্ম সমাজের একজন উৎসাহী সদস্য। ব্রাহ্ম সমাজের নির্বাহী পরিষদের সভ্য, সম্পাদক, ট্রাস্টিরূপে বহুদিন তিনি নিষ্ঠার সঙ্গে সমাজের সেবা করেছিলেন। পরলোক গমণ করেছিলেন ১২৯১ সনে।

৩৪ উনিশ শতকে ভারতীয় মুসলমানদের একজন প্রবক্তা স্যার সৈয়দ আহমদ খানের জন্ম দিল্লীতে (১৮১৫–৯৮)। ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির অধীনে চাকুরি জীবন শুরু করেছিলেন এবং সাবঅর্ডিনেট জজ পর্যন্ত উন্নীত হয়েছিলেন। চাকুরি থেকে অবসর (১৮৭৬) গ্রহণ করে ভারতীয় মুসলমানদের উন্নতিকল্পে প্রচেষ্টা গ্রহণ করেছিলেন। এর অন্যতম হলো ১৮৭৫ সালে আলিগড়ে মোহাম্মেডান অ্যাংলো–অরিয়েন্টাল কলেজ প্রতিষ্ঠা করা। সেই কলেজ বর্তমানে আলিগড় বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় নামে পরিচিত। তিনি ইংরেজদের প্রতি ছিলেন অনুগত এবং মনে করতেন তাদের সহযোগিতা ও ইংরেজি শিক্ষার প্রতি আগ্রহ মুসলমানদের এগিয়ে নেবে।

৩৫. ১৮৮৮ থেকে ১৮৯৪ পর্যন্ত মার্কুইস অফ ল্যান্সডাউন ছিলেন ভারতের ভাইসরয় এবং গভর্নর জেনারেল। তাঁর শাসনামল মোটামুটি ছিল নিরূপদ্রব।

৩৬. ১৮৭২ থেকে ১৮৭৬ পর্যন্ত আর্ল অফ নর্থব্রুক ছিলেন ভারতের ভাইসরয় ও গভর্নর জেনারেল। তিনি ছিলেন গ্ল্যাডস্টোনের উদারনীতির অনুসারী। ভারতে তাঁর নীতি ছিল— "To take of taxes, to stop unnecessary legislation to give the land rest." এ নীতি তিনি কিছুটা কার্যকর করতে পেরেছিলেন।

৩৭. ১৮৭৬ থেকে ১৮৮০ সাল পর্যন্ত লর্ড লিটন ছিলেন ভারতবর্ষের ভাইসরয় এবং গভর্নর জেনারেল। তাঁর শাসনকাল সমসাময়িককালেই নিন্দিত হয়েছিলো বিভিন্ন কারণে। ভারতবর্ষ যখন দুর্ভিক্ষের কবলে তখন জাঁকজমকের সঙ্গে আয়োজন করেছিলেন তিনি দিল্লী দরবারের। আমদানীকৃত সুতীবস্ত্রের ওপর শুল্ক রহিত করে ভারতীয় বস্ত্র শিল্প প্রসারে তিনি সৃষ্টি করেছিলেন প্রতিবন্ধকতার। সংবাদপত্র দমনের জন্য জারী করেছিলেন ১৮৭৮ সালে 'ভার্নাকুলার প্রেস অ্যাক্ট'। দ্বিতীয় আফগান যুদ্ধও তিনি শুরু করেছিলেন কিন্তু সফল হন নি। এবং এই যুদ্ধের পুরো ব্যয়ভার বহন করতে হয়েছিলো ভারতীয়দের।

৩৮. ১৯১২ সালে প্রকাশিত 'চরিতাভিধানে' অভয়চন্দ্র দাশ-কে অবয়কুমার দাস হিসেবে উল্লেখ করে লেখা হয়েছে—"বিখ্যাত ডেপুটী ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট ... ইঁহার বংশে বহু ডেপুটী ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট আছেন, এ জন্য ইঁহার বাড়ী ডেপুটী বাড়ী নামে পরিচিত।" নর্থব্রুক হলে তাঁর তৈলচিত্র স্থাপনের যে প্রস্তাব পত্র লেখক করেছিলেন তা পরে বাস্তবায়িত হয়েছিলো।

দেখুন, উপেন্দ্রচন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায়, *চরিতাভিধান*, ঢাকা, ১৯১২।

৩৯. স্যার অ্যাশলি ইডেন ভারতীয় সিভিল সার্ভিসে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন ১৮৫২ সালে। চাকুরি জীবন শুরু করেছিলেন তিনি রাজশাহীর সহকারী ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট কালেক্টর হিসেবে। বাংলার লেঃ গভর্নর হয়েছিলেন ১৮৭৭ সালে। এবং *ঐ* পদে ছিলেন ১৮৮২ পর্যন্ত। তাঁর আমলের উল্লেখযোগ্য কার্যাবলীর মধ্যে আছে, বেঙ্গল লাইসেন্স অ্যাক্ট (১৮৭৮) এবং ভার্নাকুলার প্রেস অ্যাক্ট (১৮৭৮) পাশ; নির্বাহী ও বিচার বিভাগ হিসেবে বাংলার সিভিল সার্ভিস বিভক্তকরণ, 'রেন্টল কমিশন' গঠন ও কলকাতার শিবপুর ইঞ্জিনিয়ারিং কলেজ স্থাপন। ১৮৮৭ সালে, লন্ডনে তাঁর মৃত্যু হলে ভারতের একসময়ের ভাইসরয় লর্ড নর্থব্রুক মন্তব্য করেছিলেন—

"The Indian Civil Service has been rich in able administrators, but I do not think that any Indian gentlemen will hesitate to agree with me that we have seen of late years no abler administrator than Sir Ashley Eden .. Sir Ashley Eden was distinguished for quickness of perceptions, for sound judgement for firmness in carrying out his views and for his power of securing the confidence of those who served under him."

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, বাকল্যান্ডের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, দ্বিতীয়খণ্ড, পৃ. ৬৮৭--৭৫৭।

৪০. *হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়ট*-এর সঙ্গে হরিশ্চন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায়ের নাম এমন অঙ্গাঙ্গীভাবে জড়িত যে, অনেকের ধারণা *হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়ট* পত্রিকার তিনিই প্রতিষ্ঠাতা। আসলে, ১৮৫৩ সালে পত্রিকাটি প্রকাশ শুরু করেছিলেন গিরিশচন্দ্র ঘোষ। *ঐ* বছরই হরিশ্চন্দ্র পত্রিকাটির মালিকানা লাভ করেছিলেন এবং শুরু করেছিলেন সম্পাদনা। নীল বিদ্রোহের সময় তীব্র ভাষায় নীলকরদের বিরোধিতার জন্য *হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়ট* সবার দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, Benoy Ghose, *Selections from English Periodicals of 19th century Bengal*. Vol VI, Calcutta, 1981

৪১. কলকাতার পাথুরিয়াঘাটার প্রসন্নকুমার ঠাকুরের পুত্র জ্ঞানেন্দ্রমোহন ঠাকুর বাঙালি ব্যারিস্টার। রেভারেন্ড কৃষ্ণমোহন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের প্রভাবে হিন্দু ধর্ম ত্যাগ করে খৃস্টান ধর্ম গ্রহণ করেছিলেন এবং বিয়ে করেছিলেন কৃষ্ণমোহনের কন্যাকে। পরলোকগমন করেছিলেন তিনি ইংল্যান্ডে।

৪২. উনিশ শতকের শেষার্ধে সাংবাদিক হিসেবে প্রভাবশালী ছিলেন কৃষ্টদাস পাল (১৮৩৮–৮৪)। কিছুদিন *হিন্দু প্যাট্রিয়টের* সম্পাদনাও করেছিলেন। ১৮৭২ সালে 'বেঙ্গল লেজিসলেটিভ কাউন্সিল' ও ১৮৮৩ সালে 'ইন্ডিয়ান লেজিসলেটিভ কাউন্সিল'–এর সদস্য ছিলেন।

৪৩. ১৮৬২ সালে ভারতীয় সিভিল সার্ভিসে নিযুক্তি পেয়েছিলেন উইলিয়াম উইলসন হান্টার (১৮৪০–১৯০০)। ভারতীয় ইতিহাস চর্চায় তাঁর দান অনস্বীকার্য। বাংলা প্রদেশ নিয়ে তাঁর লেখা ১৮৬৮ সালে প্রকাশিত 'অ্যানলস অফ রুরাল বেঙ্গল' তৎকালে সরকার ও বুদ্ধিজীবীদের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করেছিলো। ভারতের সংখ্যাতত্ত্ব জরীপ তিনিই সংগঠন করেছিলেন এবং ১৮৭৫–৭৭ সালের মধ্যে প্রকাশ করেছিলেন কুড়ি খণ্ডে 'স্ট্যাটিসটিকাল একাউন্ট অব বেঙ্গল'। ২৩ খণ্ড 'ইম্পিরিয়াল গেজেটিয়ার অফ ইন্ডিয়া'ও তাঁর সম্পাদনায় প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো। ১৮৮২–৮৩ সালের শিক্ষা কমিশনের ছিলেন সভাপতি এবং তাঁর রিপোর্ট পরবর্তীকালের শিক্ষানীতি প্রভাবিত করেছিলো। হান্টারের জীবন ও ইতিহাস কর্মের ওপর আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন —Md Delwar Hussain, *A Study of Nineteenth Century Historical Works on Muslim Rule in India*, Dhaka, 1978, Chapter. IV

৪৪. পুরো নাম স্যার কোর্টনি পার্সিগ্রাইম ইলবার্ট। পেশায় ব্যারিস্টার। ১৮৮২ সালে ভারতের ভাইসরয়ের এক্সিকিউটিভ কাউন্সিলে আইন সদস্য হিসেবে যোগ দেন। আইন সদস্য হিসেবেই তিনি বিখ্যাত 'ইলবার্ট বিল' উত্থাপন করেছিলেন। ১৮৮৫ থেকে ১৮৮৭ সাল পর্যন্ত ছিলেন কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উপাচার্য।

৪৫. ১৮৮২ সালের ৩০ জানুয়ারি বিহারিলাল গুপ্ত নামে একজন আই. সি. এস. অফিসার বাংলা সরকারের কাছে এক নোটে জানিয়েছিলেন, প্রশাসনে অংশগ্রহণের অধিকার যদি ভারতীয়দের থাকে, তাহলে লর্ড মেয়োর মৃত্যুর পর পাশকৃত ১৮৭২ সালের আইন অনুযায়ী গ্রামাঞ্চলে ইউরোপীয়দের ওপর ভারতীয় প্রশাসকদের কর্তৃত্ব না দেওয়া অযৌক্তিক। এই নোট বিভিন্ন পর্যায় পেরিয়ে উচ্চতর পর্যায়ে পৌছার পর সামগ্রিকভাবে পর্যালোচনা করে বর্ণের ভিত্তিতে বিচারের নীতিমালা বিলুপ্ত করার জন্য পরিষদে ২.২.১৮৮৩ সালে স্যার কোর্টনি ইলবার্ট যে বিলটি উত্থাপন করেছিলেন তাই পরিচিত ইলবার্ট বিল নামে।

ইলবার্ট জোর দিয়ে বলেছিলেন, আইনকে যদি স্থায়ী এবং সন্তোষজনক করতে হয় তাহলে বর্ণ ভিত্তিক যে সব আইন আছে তা বিলুপ্ত করতে হবে।

ভারতীয়রা প্রথমে এ বিষয়ে উচ্চবাচ্য করেনি। কিন্তু, অ্যাংলো ইন্ডিয়ান সমাজ এ বিলকে নিজেদের সম্প্রদায়ের ওপর আঘাত হিসেবে মনে করেছিলো। এর মনস্তাত্তিক কারণ, নিজেদের তারা দেখেছিলো প্রভু হিসেবে সুতরাং প্রজাদের সঙ্গে তাদের সমতা থাকতে পারে না। ব্যবসায়ী, নীলকর — এরা আইনগত যে সব সুযোগ–সুবিধা ভোগ করতেন এ বিল পাশ হলে তা বিলুপ্ত হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা ছিল।

ইলবার্ট বিলের সময় ইংরেজদের আন্দোলন, মধ্যবিত্ত বাঙ্গালিকে নাড়া দিয়ে তার মধ্যে জাগিয়ে তুলেছিলো আত্মমর্যাদার প্রশ্নটি। কারণ, ইংরেজরা যে ভাবে, এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে তাদের সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ও বর্ণবাদী মুখোশ উন্মোচিত করেছিলো তার তুলনা বিরল। লর্ড

রিপনকে তারা আখ্যায়িত করেছিলো 'বাবু' রিপন বলে। অন্যদিকে, ভারতীয়রা রিপনকে বসিয়েছিলেন দেবতার আসনে। এ প্রসঙ্গে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় তাঁর আত্মজীবনতে লিখেছিলেন—

"The Illbert Bill controversy helped to intensify the growing feeling of unity among the Indian people The Anglo-Indian community had formed their defence Association with its branches in different parts of the country . The educated community all over India watched the struggle with interest There was the Il'bert Bill agitation with all its developments taking place before their eyes They couldnot remain insensible to the lesson that it taught of combination and organization , a lesson ... which in the case was enforced amid conditions that left a rankling sense of humiliation in the mind of educated India It was, however, fruitful of results. It strengthened the forces that were speeding up the birth of the congress movement and as I have observed, before the year was not the first national conference was held in calcutta. In its organization I had no inconsiderable share quorum magna Parsfis it was the reply of educated India to the Ilbert Bill agitation, a resonant blast on their golden trumpet . " Surendranath Banerjee, *A Nation in Making*, London, 1925, pp 85-86

৪৬. পুরো নাম রবার্ট গ্যাসকোয়েন-সিসিল (১৮৩০–১৯০৩)। পরিচিত মার্কুইস অফ সলসবারি হিসেবে। ১৮৫৩ সালে টোরি এম. পি. হিসেবে নির্বাচিত হয়ে রাজনৈতিক জীবনের শুরু. ভারত সচিব নিযুক্ত হন ১৮৬৬ সালে, কিন্তু কিছুদিন পর পদত্যাগ করেন। ১৮৭৪ সালে আবার ঐ পদে ফিরে আসেন এবং ১৮৭৮ সালে পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রী হিসেবে নিযুক্তি পান। তিনবার প্রধানমন্ত্রী হয়েছিলেন (১৮৫৬-৬ ; ১৮৮৬–৯২ ; ১৮৯৫-১৯০২)।

রক্ষণশীল সলসবারি আজীবন গণতন্ত্রের উত্থানে ভীত ছিলেন।

A W Palmer, *A Dictionary of Modern History*, London, 1964

৪৭. ইংরেজি সাপ্তাহিক *বেঙ্গলি* প্রকাশিত হতো বেচরাম চট্টোপাধ্যায়ের সম্পাদনায়। ১৮৭৯ সালে সুরেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় পত্রিকাটির স্বত্ব কিনে নেন। তাঁর সম্পাদনায় *বেঙ্গলি* উনিশ শতকের শেষার্ধে বাঙালি মধ্যবিত্তের অন্যতম মুখপত্র হয়ে ওঠে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, Surendranath Banerjee, *A Nation in Making*, London, 1925.

৪৮. দীনবন্ধু মিত্রের (১৮৩০–৭৩) *নীলদর্পণ* বাংলা নাটকের ক্ষেত্রে মাইলফলক বিশেষ। *নীলদর্পণ*-এর মতো আর কোন নাটক উনিশ শতকে এতো আলোড়নের সৃষ্টি করেনি। ঢাকা থেকে ১৮৬০ সালে নাটকটি প্রথম প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো। *নীলদর্পণ*-এর একটি ভিন্ন মূল্যায়ণ করেছেন অধ্যাপক রণজিৎ গুহ। *নীলদর্পণ* নিয়ে এতো হৈচৈ হওয়ার কারণ সম্পর্কে তিনি লিখেছিলেন--

"The answer is simply that it was the European planters' reaction to the play that triggered the baboos response to it For, it is indeed curious that although *Neel Darpan* was published in september 1860 it was not until May 1861 that the calcutta intelligentsia began to take any serious notice of it During these eight months a number of things *happened* due to an apparently accidental lapse in communication between the lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the secretary to the Government of Bengal in what was indeed a routine administrative matter and culminated in the planters as against the bad Englishmen planters. And thus *Neeldarpan* became the

instrument—one could almost say pretext—for the fabrication of a nice little middle class myth about a liberal Government a kind hearted christian priest, a great but impoverished poet and a rich intellectual who was also pillar of society a veritable league of power and piety and poetry—standing up in defence of the poor ryat coming when it did, this myth did more than all else to comfort a bhadralok conscience unable to reconcile a borrowed ideal decision to make the play a cause for libel It was at this point that the literati of Bengal came to realize, that the defence of *Neel Darpan* could be made to look like the defence of the peasantry without anyone risking his head at the hands of the Planters' lathials. So when James Long inspired equally by his concern for the ryots and his eagerness to shield the Lieutenant Governor for embarrasment, stepped out to receive the days crown of thorns, the leading lights of Calcutta rallied behind the good Englishmen (missionaries and officials) of liberty with a sense of its own helplessness and cowardice in the face of a peasant revolt " Ranajit Guha, *Neel Darpan*. The Image of a peasant revolt in a Liberal Mirror', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. Vol I No 1. oct, 1974.

৪৯. *নীল-দর্পণ*-এর অনুকরণে দক্ষিণাচরণ চট্টোপাধ্যায় রচনা করেছিলেন *চা-কর দর্পণ*। নাটকটি প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো ১৮৭৫ সালে।

৫০. চা-কর জর্জ অ্যালেন এলাহাবাদ থেকে ইংরেজি *পাইয়োনিয়ার* প্রকাশ শুরু করেন। আশীর দশকে জর্জ চেসনি'র সম্পাদনায় *পাইয়োনিয়ার* অত্যন্ত প্রভাবশালী হয়ে ওঠে—".. it was under Sir George Chesneys' editorship that the *Pioneer* came to be acknowledged as the most powerful Anglo-Indian journal. Chesneys top-level official contacts, being himself head of the P W. D. Accounts department from 1869 to 1880 and then a secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department gave his paper the importance of a government gazette and more "

Uma Dasgupta, *Rise of an Indian Public*, Calcutta, 1977, pp 42-43

৫১. ১৮৮৫ সালের ২৮ ডিসেম্বর ইংরেজ সিভিলিয়ান অ্যালান অকটেভিয়ান হিউম ভারতীয় কংগ্রেস প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছিলেন। এর প্রথম অধিবেশন হয়েছিল বোম্বেতে (১৮৮৫) এবং সভাপতিত্ব করেছিলেন কলকাতা হাইকোর্টের প্রখ্যাত ব্যারিস্টার ডব্লিউ, ব্যানার্জি। প্রথম দিকে কংগ্রেসের নেতারা প্রকাশ্যে ঘোষণা করেছিলেন, তাঁরা ভারতে ব্রিটিশ শাসনের ভিত্তি মজবুত করতে সহায়তা করতে চান। কিন্তু, পরবর্তীকালে কংগ্রেস ক্রমেই ব্রিটিশ বিরোধী হয়ে উঠেছিলো এবং কংগ্রেসের নেতৃত্বেই ১৯৪৭ সালে ভারত লাভ করেছিলো স্বাধীনতা। দেখুন, P Saitaramaiya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I & II.

৫২ বোম্বে প্রেসিডেন্সীর লে গভর্নর।

৫৩. দাদাভাই নওরোজী (১৮২০-১৯১৭) বোম্বাইর এক পার্সি পরিবারে জন্মগ্রহণ করেন। বোম্বাই ও লন্ডনে অধ্যাপনা করেন। লন্ডনে থাকাকালীন তিনি উমেশচন্দ্র বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের সঙ্গে 'লন্ডন ইন্ডিয়ান সোসাইটি' গঠন করেন ও রাজনীতির সঙ্গে যুক্ত হন। তিনি বোম্বাই পৌরসভা ও আইনসভার সদস্যও হয়েছিলেন। তিনবার তিনি কংগ্রেস অধিবেশনে সভাপতিত্ব (১৮৮৬, ১৮৯৩ ও ১৯০৬) করেছিলেন। ১৮৯২ সালে ব্রিটেনের মধ্য ফিন্সবেরি থেকে উদারনৈতিক দলের পক্ষে ব্রিটিশ পার্লামেন্টে সদস্য নির্বাচিত হন। তাঁর আগে আর

কোন ভারতীয় ব্রিটিশ পার্লামেন্টে নির্বাচিত হন নি। তিনি বেশ কটি গ্রন্থ রচনা করেছেন, যার মধ্যে ১৯০১ সালে প্রকাশিত *পভার্টি অ্যান্ড আন-ব্রিটিশ রুল ইন ইন্ডিয়া* বিখ্যাত।

৫৪. উইলিয়াম ইওয়ার্ট গ্ল্যাডস্টোন (১৮০৯–১৯০৪) প্রায় অর্ধশতাব্দী ইংল্যান্ডের রাজনীতিতে প্রবল প্রভাব বিস্তার করেছিলেন। গ্রেট ব্রিটেনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন চারবার।

৫৫. লর্ড র‍্যান্ডলফ চার্চিলের (১৮৪৯–৯৪) আরেক পবিচয় হলো, তিনি বিখ্যাত স্যাব উইনস্টন চার্চিলের পিতা। ১৮৭৪ সালে রক্ষণশীল দলের সদস্য হিসেবে তিনি পার্লামেন্টে নির্বাচিত হন। রক্ষণশীল দলের মধ্যেই 'প্রগতিশীল' অংশের ছিলেন তিনি নেতা। তিনি ভারত সচিব, চ্যান্সেলর অফ এক্সচেকার এবং পার্লামেন্ট পরিষদীয় দলের নেতা হিসেবে কাজ করেছেন। সলসবারির বিরোধিতা করার ফলে তাঁর রাজনৈতিক জীবনের ইতি ঘটে।

৫৬. ১৮৭১ সালে, ঢাকাব ব্রাহ্মদের উদ্যোগে ইংবেজি এই পত্রিকাটি প্রকাশিত হযেছিলো। পত্রিকাটিব প্রথম সম্পাদক ছিলেন কালীনারাযণ রায়। অল্প কিছুদিন পর তিনি ঢাকা ত্যাগ করলে এর ভার অর্পিত হয়েছিলো তৎকালীন ঢাকার একজন প্রধান ব্রাহ্ম কর্মী নবকান্ত চট্টোপাধ্যায়ের ওপব। পত্রিকাটি কতদিন টিকে ছিল জানা জায় নি। তবে এটুকু জানা যায় যে, ১৮৭৫ সালেও পত্রিকাটিব অস্তিত্ব ছিল। দেখুন, *নবকান্ত চট্টোপাধ্যায়*, পৃ. ৮৯।

৫৭. 'People Association' বা 'জনসাধাবণ সভা' সাংগঠনিক রূপ লাভ করেছিলো ১৮৭২ সালে। এ সভাব উদ্যোক্তাদের মধ্যে ছিলেন জমিদাব এবং পেশাজীবী যাদের মধ্যে উকিলরাই ছিলেন প্রধান।

'জনসাধারণ সভার উদ্দেশ্য ছিল 'এই প্রদেশের দুরবস্থা সংশোধন, অভাব মোচন এবং সর্বপ্রকাব হিত সাধনের চেষ্টা করা।' এবং সভ্যপদ উন্মুক্ত ছিল 'বঙ্গ দেশবাসী প্রাপ্ত বয়স্ক' ব্যক্তিদের জন্য। বার্ষিক চাঁদা ছিল আট আনা। আব নিয়ম করা হয়েছিল প্রতি বাংলা মাসের প্রথম সপ্তাহে কার্য নির্বাহক সভা হবে এবং বৈশাখে সাধারণ সভা। এর কিছুদিন পর হযত জনসাধারণ সভা নিস্ক্রিয় হয়ে পড়েছিলো। কারণ, ১৯০১ এব সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে দেখি এ সভা আবার পুনরুজ্জীবীত কবা হযেছিলো।

১৮৭২ সালের জনসাধাবণ সভাব উদ্দেশ্য বা লক্ষ্য দেখে মনে হয়, উদ্যোক্তাবা একটি 'গণ সংগঠন' কবতে চেযেছিলেন। বঙ্গভঙ্গ আন্দোলনের সময় এ সভা বিশেষ ভূমিকা পালন কবেছিলো। বিস্তারিত বিববণেব জন্য, মুনতাসীব মামুন, *উনিশ শতকে পূর্ব বাংলার সভাসমিতি*, ঢাকা, ১৯৮৪।

৫৮. ১৮৫৮ সালে ঢাকায় প্রতিষ্ঠিত হযেছিলো ব্রাহ্ম স্কুল। আর্থিক অনিশ্চয়তা দেখা দিলে ১৮৭২ সালে স্কুলেব ভার তুলে দেওয়া হয় বালিয়াটির জমিদার কিশোরীলাল রায়ের হাতে। তিনি তাঁর পিতার নামে স্কুলের নাম দেন জগন্নাথ স্কুল। বিস্তারিত বিবরণেব জন্য দেখুন, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *ঢাকা : স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির নগরী*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৩।

৫৯ পূর্ববঙ্গের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলের ব্রাহ্মসমাজের শাখা সংগঠন ছিল 'ছাত্র সমাজ', বরিশালে ১৮৭১ সালে প্রথম এ ধরনেব 'ছাত্র সমাজ' গঠিত হয়েছিলো।

৬০. বাংলা সংবাদপত্র এ সম্পর্কে লিখেছিল — "পার্সি গান ও নাটকাভিনয কোম্পানী' নামক একদল বোম্বাইবাসী পার্সি অভিনেতা সম্প্রতি ঢাকায় আগমন কবিয়াছেন। নবাব খাজে আবদুল গনি মিঞা সাহেবেব আমন্ত্রণই ইহাদিগের ঢাকায় আগমনের কারণ। ... ভরসা করি এই অভিনয কোম্পানি ঢাকা হইতে বিলক্ষণ প্রতিপত্তি ও অর্থলাভ করিয়া যাইতে পারিবেন। আগামী কল্য হইতে এক সপ্তাহকাল পর্যন্ত প্রতি বাত্রিতে ইহারা অভিনয করিবেন সংকল্প করিয়াছেন।"

বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *উনিশ শতকে ঢাকাব থিয়েটার*, ঢাকা, ১৯৭৯।

৬১. ১৮৪২ সালে কলকাতায় মধুসূদন স্যান্ন্যালের বাড়িতে স্থাপিত হয় 'ন্যাশনাল থিয়েটার'। এ মঞ্চে প্রথম অভিনীত নাটক 'নীলদর্পণ'।

৬২. ১৮৭৯ সালে 'ন্যাশনাল থিয়েটার' আবার ঢাকায় আসে। এবাব তাবা মঞ্চস্থ কবে 'সতী কি কলঙ্কিনী" ও 'চক্ষুদান'। কিন্তু ঢাকায় এসে তারা পৌঁছলেই হৈচৈ শুরু হয় কারণ তাদের দলে নাকি কয়েকজন বারাঙ্গনা ছিল। ব্রাহ্মসমাজ এ নিয়ে সবচেয়ে বেশি হৈচৈ শুরু কবে। ঢাকা কলেজের অধ্যক্ষও এর বিরোধিতা শুরু করেন। কিন্তু, প্রত্যক্ষ কোন কারণ না পেয়ে তাবা দুর্ভিক্ষের কারণে থিয়েটার স্থগিত বাখার আবেদন জানান।

বিস্তাবিত বিববণের জন্য, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *প্রাগুক্ত*।

৬৩. খুব সম্ভব নবাবপুবের বসাক পরিবারের সদস্যদেঁর দ্বারা গঠিত হয়েছিলো 'নবাবপুর এমেটিয়াব কোম্পানী'। বিস্তারিত বিবরণে জন্য, *ঐ*।

৬৪ ঢাকা যাত্রার জন্যও ছিল বিখ্যাত। কৃষ্ণকমল গোস্বামীর লেখা "স্বপ্ন বিলাস" ও 'রাই উন্মাদিনী' ছিল ঐ সময়কার আলোড়ন সৃষ্টিকারী যাত্রা। বিস্তারিত বিবরণেব জন্য, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *উনিশ শতকে বাংলাদেশের থিযেটার*, ঢাকা, ১৯৮৭।

৬৫. ১৮৯০–৯১ এর দিকে নবাবপুবের বসাক পরিবাবের কৃষ্ণকিশোর বসাকের উদ্যোগে গঠিত হযেছিল 'ইলিশিয়াম' (বাংলা সংবাদপত্রে এই নামই দেয়া আছে)। সপ্তাহে দু'দিন তারা নিয়মিত নাটক মঞ্চস্থ করতো। জগন্নাথ কলেজের কুঞ্জলাল নাগ ছিলেন এর পরিচালক। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, মুনতাসীব মামুন, *ঐ*।

৬৬. উনিশ শতকেব নব্বই দশকে ঢাকায় সম্পূর্ণ পেশাদারী ভিত্তিতে প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো 'ক্রাউন' ও 'ডায়মন্ড জুবিলী থিয়েটার', তবে ক্রাউন প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো আগে। ডায়মন্ড প্রতিষ্ঠা কবা হয়েছিলো ১৮৯৭ সালে। বিস্তাবিত বিববণের জন্য, *ঐ*।

৬৭. উনিশ শতকে পূর্ববঙ্গেব শ্রেষ্ঠ গদ্য লেখক এবং 'বান্ধব' পত্রিকাব সম্পাদক হিসেবে পরিচিত। জন্ম ঢাকাব ভবাকবে (১৮৪৩)। চাকুরি জীবন শুরু করেছিলেন ঢাকাব ছোট আদালতেব পেশকার রূপে। ১৮৭৭ সালে নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন ভাওয়াল রাজ্যেব প্রধান কর্মচারী হিসেবে। এ ছাড়া বিভিন্ন সময় নিযুক্ত হযেছিলেন বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পবিষদের সহ-সভাপতি, অবৈতনিক ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট, সদর লোকাল বোর্ডের সভাপতি রূপে। যৌবনে ব্রাহ্ম ধর্মের অনুরাগী হলেও পবে হিন্দু ধর্মের সমর্থকে পবিণত হয়েছিলেন। তাঁব কয়েকটি গ্রন্থ— *প্রভাত চিন্তা* (১৮৭৭), *নিভৃত চিন্তা* (১৩৮৩) *নারীজাতি বিষয়ক প্রস্তাব* (১৮৯৯) প্রভৃতি। পরলোক গমন করে ১৯১০ সালে। দেখুন, মুনতাসীব মামুন, *কালীপ্রসন্ন ঘোষ*, ঢাকা।

৬৮. দক্ষিণাত্য থেকে সেন রাজারা দ্বাদশ শতকে বাংলায় এসে প্রতিষ্ঠা কবেছিলেন সেন রাজবংশ। এই বংশের প্রথম রাজা হেমন্ত সেন। বল্লাল সেন তাঁর পৌত্র। পিতা বিজয় সেনের মৃত্যুর পর ১১৫৮ অব্দে তিনি সিংহাসনারোহণ করেন। দেখুন, রমেশচন্দ্র মজুমদাব, *বাংলাদেশের ইতিহাস*, প্রথম খণ্ড, কলকাতা, ১৩৬৪।

৬৯. মার্কুইস অফ কেডলেসটন বা জর্জ নাথানিয়েল কার্জন (১৮৫৯–১৯২৫) আমাদের কাছে পরিচিত শুধু লর্ড কার্জন নামে। ভারতে ভাইসরয় নিযুক্ত হওয়ার আগে মধ্য এশিয়া ও কোরিয়া ভ্রমণ করেছেন এবং এ সম্পর্কে গ্রন্থ রচনা করেছেন। ১৮৯৯ সালে তাঁকে ভারতের গভর্নর জেনারেল নিয়োগ করা হয়। ১৯০৪–এ তাঁকে এ পদে পুনর্নিয়োগ দেয়া হলে সরকারের সঙ্গে মতদ্বৈততার কারণে তিনি পদত্যাগ করেন।

লর্ড কার্জন সরকারে অনেক সংস্কার প্রবর্তন করেছিলেন কিন্তু বঙ্গভঙ্গ সারা বাংলা জুড়ে এমন প্রবল প্রতিক্রিয়ার সৃষ্টি এবং তাঁকে বিতর্কিত করে তুলেছিলো যে, সেসব সংস্কারের কথা আর কেউ মনে রাখেনি।

৭০. হার্বার্ট হোপ রিজলের শুধু আমলা হিসেবেই নয় নৃবিজ্ঞানী হিসেবেও খ্যাতি ছিল। প্রধানতঃ ডাঃ জেমস ওয়াইজের নোটের ওপর ভিত্তি করে ১৮৯১ সালে প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো তাঁর বিখ্যাত গ্রন্থ —*দি ট্রাইবস অ্যান্ড কাস্টস অফ বেঙ্গল*। ১৮৯৯ সালে কার্জন তাঁকে সেনসাস কমিশনার এবং ১৯০২ সালে নিযুক্ত করেছিলেন স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব হিসেবে। ক্রনিন লিখেছেন—

"A gifted writer and a clever, almost Machiavelian thinker, Risley spent a large part of his career in the secretaries of Bengal and the Imperial government. He was not well loved. As a result of an alleged indiscretion over the controversial calcutta Municipal Act of 1899, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir John Woodburn, disparaged him to Curzon as lacking in "manliness and independence" and "Constitutionally unfit for any position of real trust responsibility ..."

Richard Paul Cronin, *British Policy and Administration in Bengal*, 1905-1912, calcutta, 1977. p. 19.

৭১. স্যার অ্যান্ড্রু ফ্রেজারের কর্ম ও জীবন এবং বঙ্গভঙ্গের বিষয়ে তাঁর বিস্তারিত মন্তব্যের জন্য দেখুন, Andrew H. L. Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots*, Allahabad, (reprint), 1975.

৭২. পুরো নাম স্যার হেনরী জন স্টেডম্যান কটন। জন্মেছিলেন ১৮৪৫ সালে, ভারতীয় সিভিল সার্ভিসে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন ১৮৬৭ সালে। বাংলার মুখ্য সচিব, স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব ও আসামের চিফ কমিশনার হয়েছিলেন যথাক্রমে ১৮৯১, ১৮৯৬ এবং ১৮৯৬ সালে। এ পদ থেকেই ১৯০২ সালে তিনি অবসর গ্রহণ করেছিলেন।

কটন ছিলেন ভারতীয়দের প্রতি সহানুভূতিশীল। তাঁর আত্মজীবনীতে এ সম্পর্কে বিবরণ আছে। ১৯০৪ সালে বোম্বাইতে অনুষ্ঠিত ভারতীয় জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের কুড়িতম অধিবেশনে সভাপতিত্ব করেছিলেন এবং এ বলে আশাবাদ ব্যক্ত করেছিলেন যে অদূর ভবিষ্যতে স্বাধীন রাজ্যসমূহের সমন্বয়ে সৃষ্টি হবে একটি ফেডারেশনের যা পরিচিত হবে ভারতীয় যুক্তরাষ্ট্র হিসেবে। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, Henry Cotton, *Indian and Home Memories*, London, 1911.

৭৩. দ্র: টীকা ১৬।

৭৪. লর্ড জন লরেন্স (১৮১১–৭৯) ১৮৩০ সালে কোম্পানীর সিভিল সার্ভিসে যোগ দিয়ে কালক্রমে গভর্ণর জেনারেল এবং ভাইসরয় পদে উন্নীত (১৮৬৪–৬৯) হয়েছিলেন। ভারতীয়দের শিক্ষার বিস্তারে এবং সাধারণ মানুষের অবস্থার উন্নয়নে ছিলেন আগ্রহী।

৭৫. স্যার টমাস মুনরো (১৭২৬–১৮০৫) যোগ দিয়েছিলেন ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানির চাকুরে হিসেবে। ১৮২০ সালে নিজগুণে নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন মাদ্রাজের গভর্ণর। সাত বছর যোগ্যতার সঙ্গে মাদ্রাস প্রেসিডেন্সি শাসন করেছিলেন।

৭৬. মাউন্টস্টুয়ার্ট এলফিনস্টোন (১৭৭৯–১৮৫৯) ১৭৯৫ সালে কোম্পানি রাইটার হিসেবে যোগ দিয়েছিলেন। ১৮২৭ সালে নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন বোম্বের গভর্ণর। শাসক হিসেবে খ্যাতি অর্জন ।। অবসর নেন ১৮২৭ সালে। বোম্বের এলফিনস্টোন কলেজ তাঁর সম্মানে প্রতিষ্ঠা করা হয়েছিলো। তাঁর একটি বিখ্যাত গ্রন্থ 'হিস্ট্রি অব ইন্ডিয়া' যা প্রকাশিত হয়েছিলো ১৮৪১ সালে।

৭৭. ময়মনসিংহের আলাপসিংহ পরগণার জমিদার ছিলেন সূর্য্যকান্ত আচার্য চৌধুরী (১৮৫০-১৯০৮)। এ ছাড়াও তাঁর জমিদাবি ছিল মুর্শিদাবাদ, বগুড়া ও পাটনায় নয়লক্ষ বিঘারও বেশি। ১৮৮৭ সালে তাঁকে দেওয়া হয়েছিলো মহারাজ উপাধি। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য, উপেন্দ্রচন্দ্র মুখোপাধ্যায়, *চরিতাভিধান*, কলকাতা, ১৯১২।

৭৮. পূর্ববঙ্গে ক্রিকেট সংক্রান্ত বিস্তারিত আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *ঢাকাব টুকিটাকি*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৮।

৭৯. উনিশ শতকের মধ্যপর্বে ডাকাতি দমনের সরকারি কমিশনেব কার্যক্রমের বিববণের জন্য দেখুন — Iftikharul-ul-Awal, 'Anti-Dacoity Drive in Mid-nineteenth century Bengal', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengladesh*. Vol. 35, No. I, June, 1990.

৮০. রাণী ভিক্টোরিয়া ১৮৭৬ সালে 'ভারত সম্রাজ্ঞী' উপাধি গ্রহণ কবেছিলেন এবং সে পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ব্রিটিশ পার্লামেন্টে আইনও পাশ করেছিলো (Act of Parliament, 39 and 40, vic cap 10- "to enable Her-Most Gracious Majesty to make an addition to the Royal style and titles appertaining to Imperial crown of the United Kingdom and its dependencies.)" এ ঘোষণা দেওয়া হয়েছিলো ২৮ এপ্রিল, ১৮৭৬ সালে। ১৮৭৭ সালের ১লা জানুযারি দিল্লীতে ভাইসরয় লিটন এ উপলক্ষে দরবার কবেছিলেন এবং ভাবতবর্ষেব প্রতিটি বিভাগে, বিভাগীয় কমিশনারের নেতৃত্বে তা উদযাপিত (দরবার) হয়েছিলো। দিল্লী দরবার উপলক্ষে লিটন ঘোষণা করেছিলেন—

"to hold at Delhi on the 1st day of January 1877, an imperial Assemblage for the purpose of proclaiming to the queen's subjects throughout India the gracious sentiments which have induced Her Majesty to make to Her sovereign style and Titles an addition specially intended to make her Majesty's interest in this great Dependency of Her crown. and Her Royal confidence in the loyalty and affection of the Princes and peoples of India" দেখুন, বাকল্যান্ডের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, ২ খণ্ড, পৃ. ৬৮২।

৮১. ঢাকার নবাব বংশেব প্রতিষ্ঠাতা ছিলেন আবদুল গণি (১৮৩০-১৮৯৬)। পূর্ববঙ্গে ছিল তাঁর বিস্তৃত জমিদারি। এখানে উল্লেখ্য যে, তাঁর পূর্বপুরুষ কাশ্মীর থেকে এসেছিলেন পূর্ববঙ্গে। ১৮৫৭ সালের বিদ্রোহে তিনি সহায়তা করেছিলেন ইংরেজদের। দাতা হিসেবেও তাঁর খ্যাতি ছিল। ইংরেজ অনুগত আবদুল গনিকে তৎকালীন সরকার ১৮৬৭ সালে মনোনীত করেছিলেন আইন পরিষদেব সদস্য হিসেবে। ১৮৭৫ সালে তাঁকে দেয়া হয়েছিলো বংশানুক্রমিক নবাব উপাধি। ১৮৮৬ সালে লাভ করেছিলেন কে, সি. এস, আই. উপাধি। বিস্তারিত বিবরণেব জন্য দেখুন মুনতাসীর মামুন, *ঢাকা : স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির নগরী*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৩।

৮২. নবাব আবদুল গনির ছেলে নবাব আহসানউল্লাহ (১৮৪৬-১৯০১) দানশীলতার জন্যও ছিলেন খ্যাত। দু'বার মনোনীত হয়েছিলেন কেন্দ্রীয় আইন সভাব সদস্য হিসেবে। ঢাকার শাহবাগে ছিল নবাবদের বিস্তৃত বাগান ও চিড়িয়াখানা। *ঐ*।

৮৩. ওবায়েদুল্লাহ আল উবেদীর (১৮৩৪-১৮৮৫) জন্ম মেদেনীপুরে। ১৮৫৭ সালে কলকাতা মাদ্রাসা থেকে জামাআত-ই-উলা ডিগ্রী লাভ করেছিলেন। ১৮৭৪ সালে ঢাকা, চট্টগ্রাম ও বাজশাহীতে তিনটি সরকারি মাদ্রাসা প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয়েছিলো। উবেদীকে ঢাকা মাদ্রাসার তত্ত্বাবধায়ক নিযুক্ত করা হয়েছিলো। ১৮৭৪ সালে তিনি এই নতুন দায়িত্ব নিয়ে ঢাকায় চলে

আসেন এবং মৃত্যুর পূর্ব পর্যন্ত এখানেই বসবাস করেন। ঢাকা পৌরসভাসহ বিভিন্ন প্রতিষ্ঠান ও শিক্ষা ও সমাজহিতকর কাজের সঙ্গে জড়িত ছিলেন। তাঁর পুত্রদের মধ্যে স্যার আবদুল্লাহ আল মামুন ও স্যার হাসান সোহরাওয়াদী (প্রথম ভারতীয় এফ. আর. সি. এস) বিশেষভাবে পরিচিত। কনিষ্ঠপুত্র মাহমুদ সোহরাওয়ার্দী ছিলেন সরকারের কেন্দ্রীয় কাউন্সিল অফ স্টেটস-এর সদস্য। ভাইপো (যাঁকে তিনি পালন করেছিলেন) শাহেদ সোহরাওয়ার্দী সুপরিচিত। তাঁর দৌহিত্র হাসান সোহরাওয়ার্দী ছিলেন কলকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের উপাচার্য এবং তাঁর ছোট ভাই শহীদ সোহরাওয়ার্দীতো আমাদের রাজনীতি অঙ্গনে সুপরিচিত। *ঐ*।

৮৪. এ পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে ১৮৭৮ সালে 'সোমপ্রকাশ' লিখেছিলো, "১লা জানুয়ারীতে নবাব আহসানুল্লাহ খাঁ ঢাকায় মেষের লড়াই দেখাইবার উদ্যোগ করেন। এই প্রকার অনেক পশুর যুদ্ধ দেখাইবার কথা হয়। কলিকাতায় পশুর প্রতি অত্যাচার নিবারণ সভার সভ্যরা এই সংবাদপ্রাপ্ত হইয়া একজন ইউরোপীয় এজেন্ট প্রেরণ করেন এবং যাহাতে পশুদিগকে কোন প্রকারে কষ্ট না দেওয়া হয়, তদ্বিষয়ক এক আজ্ঞা প্রচার করেন। ইউরোপীয়ের হাবভাব দেখিয়া নবাব বাহাদুর সকল প্রকার পশুর লড়াই বন্ধ করিয়া দিয়াছেন। উত্তম কাজ হইয়াছে।"

৮৫. এ বিষয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন, প্যাট্রিক গেড্ডেস, *ঢাকা নগর উন্নয়ন পরিকল্পনা প্রতিবেদন* ১৯১৭ (অনুবাদ ও ভূমিকা) আবদুল মোহাইমেন, ঢাকা, ১৯৯০। মুনতাসীর মামুন, *ঢাকা : স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির নগরী*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯৩।

৮৬. বাংলাদেশের শিক্ষা-সংস্কৃতি প্রসারে যেসব ইংরেজ মিশনারি অবদান রেখেছিলেন তাঁদের অন্যতম রেভারেন্ড জেমস লঙ। ১৮৪০ সালে তিনি এসেছিলেন কলকাতায় এবং শিক্ষকতা ও গ্রন্থ রচনার কাজে নিযুক্ত করেছিলেন নিজেকে। বাংলা মুদ্রণের আদি ইতিহাস জানতে হলে জেমস লঙ কৃত তালিকার স্মরণাপন্ন হওয়া ছাড়া গতি নেই। তালিকাগুলি হলো—*Returns Relating to Native Printing Presses and Publications in Bengal 1853-54 , A Return of the Names and Writing of 515 Persons connected with Bengali Literature* (1855) ইত্যাদি। তিন খণ্ডে সংগৃহীত *প্রবাদমালার* সংকলন তাঁর উল্লেখযোগ্য কৃতিত্ব। ১৮৬১ সালে দীনবন্ধু মিত্রের 'নীলদর্পণ' ইংরেজি অনুবাদ করে কারাদণ্ডে দণ্ডিত হয়েছিলেন। তাঁকে নিয়ে সেই সময় ছড়া গাঁথা হয়েছিলো (ধীরাজের লেখা) "নীল বানরে সোনার বাংলা করলে ছারখার। অকালে হরিশ ম'ল লঙ-এর হলো কারাগার।" জেমস লঙ-ও বাংলা মুদ্রণ শিল্পে তাঁর অবদানের জন্য দেখুন—চিত্তরঞ্জন বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত, *দুই শতকের বাংলা মুদ্রণ ও প্রকাশন*। কলকাতা, ১৯৮১।

৮৭. স্যার অগাস্টাস রিভার্স থম্পসন ১৮৫০ সালে বাঁকুড়ার সহকারি ম্যাজিস্ট্রেট কালেক্টার হিসেবে কর্মজীবন শুরু করেছিলেন। বাংলার লেঃ গভর্নর নিযুক্ত হয়েছিলেন ১৮৮২ সালে। এ পদে ছিলেন ১৮৮৭ সাল পর্যন্ত। তাঁর আমল ছিল ঘটনাবহুল। ইলবার্ট বিল নিয়ে আন্দোলন শুরু হয়েছিলো তাঁর আমলে ; তাঁর আমলেই পাশ হয়েছিলো 'লোকাল সেলফ গভর্নমেন্ট বিল', 'মিউনিসিপাল বিল' ও 'বেঙ্গল টেনান্সি অ্যাক্ট।' কলকাতা মেডিকেল কলেজে মহিলাদের ভর্তি নিয়ে বিতর্ক হলে তিনি মহিলাদের ভর্তির পথ সুগম করে দিয়েছিলেন। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, বাকল্যান্ডের *প্রাগুক্ত গ্রন্থ*, পৃ. ৭৬০-৮৩৬।

৮৮. বিস্তারিত আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন, মুনতাসীর মামুন, *স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির নগরী*।

৮৯. হরিনাথ দে'র (১৮৭৭-১৯১১) খ্যাতি ছিল বহু ভাষাবিদ পণ্ডিত হিসেবে। ঢাকা কলেজে অধ্যাপনা করেছিলেন। কলকাতার ন্যাশনাল লাইব্রেরির গ্রন্থাগারিক ছিলেন। এ বিষয়ে

বিস্তারিত আলোচনাব জন্য দেখুন, প্রতাপ মুখোপাধ্যায়, *বহুভাষাবিদ হবিনাথ দে : নানা প্রসঙ্গ*, কলকাতা, ১৯৯৭।

৯০. ঢাকার মসলিন সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত আলোচনার জন্য দেখুন, আবদুল করিম, *ঢাকাই মসলিন*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯০।

৯১. খাজা মোহাম্মদ ইউসুফ জান (১৮৫৬--১৯২৩) ঢাকার নবাব পরিবারের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কিত। উনিশ শতকের শেষার্ধে এবং এ শতকের প্রথমার্ধে তিনি ছিলেন ঢাকার প্রভাবশালী ব্যক্তিত্ব। তিনি ছিলেন ঢাকা পৌরসভার ভাইস–চেয়ারম্যান (১৯০১-১৯০৫) এবং চেযাবম্যান (১৮৯৯-১৯০১ ; ১৯০৫–১৯১৬)। ঢাকার পয়ঃনিস্কাশন ব্যবস্থা তাঁর উদ্যোগেই শুরু হয়েছিলো। বিস্তারিত বিবরণের জন্য দেখুন, মুহাম্মদ আবদুল্লাহ, *ঢাকাব কয়েকজন মুসলিম সুধী*, ঢাকা, ১৯৯১।

৯২. উনিশ শতকের মধ্যভাগে এন. পি. পোগজ বা নিকি পোগজ ছিলেন ঢাকাব একজন প্রভাবশালী নাগরিক। আর্মেনী পোগজ ছিলেন জমিদার এবং ব্যবসায়ী। পোগজ ঢাকায় কবে এসেছিলেন বা তাঁর জন্ম কোথায় এবং কখন তা জানা যায় নি। তবে, অনুমান করা হয়, পরলোকগমন করেছিলেন তিনি ১৮৭০ সালে। মৃত্যুর আগে চলে গিয়েছিলেন তিনি লন্ডনে। ঢাকাব বিখ্যাত পোগজ স্কুল তিনিই প্রতিষ্ঠা কবেছিলেন। *ঐ*।

বিজ্ঞাপন

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R E C O R D

Revenue	...	£1,300,000
Bonus Declared	...	£7,000,000
Accumulated Funds	...	£11,000,000
Claims paid	...	£22,775,000

NEW SCHEME OF
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21.11.1904

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

PROGRAMME
OF THE
DACCA RACES
1905-1906

(Under C. T. C. Rules of Racing)

STEWARDS :

NAWAB SALIMOLLAH BAHADUR
W. A'COURT BEADON, Esq..
T. INGLIS, ESQ, I. C. S.
G. MORGAN, ESQ.,
J. T. RANKIN, ESQ., I. C. S.
LT. COL. R. N. CAMPBELL, I. M. S.

Honorary Secretary :—C. H. HOLDER, Esq.

DACCA RACES

First Day	Tuesday	21st.	November,	1905
Second Day	Thursday	23rd	do.	do.
Third Day	Saturday	25th	do.	do.

FIRST DAY. TUESDAY, 21st NOVEMBER, 1905.

THE GUNNEY MEAH PURSE—Rs. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20 second to receive Rs. 100 out of the entire stakes. For ponies 14/2 and under. English and Australasian ponies 14/2 to carry 9 st. 7 lbs. C. B ponies 14/2 to carry 8st. 0lbs Arab ponies 14/2 to carry 6 at. 9 lbs W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 500 or more, once 7lbs., twice 14 lbs. of a flat race value Rs. 900 or over 7 lbs. in addition to other penalties. Allowances—Ponies which have not won a flat race value Rs. 200 or over since 31st March, 1904, allowed 7 lbs. Distance—1000 yards. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 40.

THE DORVILL MEMORIAL PLATE.—Rs. 600 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20. second to receive Rs. 100, out of the entire stakes. For Arabs and C. B's 14/0, and other ponies 13/3 and under. English and Australasian ponies 13/3 to carry 9st. 7 lbs. C. B. ponies 14/0 to carry 9 st. 4 lbs. Arab ponies 14,o to carry 8 st 12lbs. W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 500 or more, once, 7 lbs. in addition to other penalties. Allowances—Ponies which have not won a flat race value Rs. 200 or over since 31st March, 1904, allowed 7 lbs.

Distance—6 furlongs. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November when race will close Rs. 40.

THE NARAYANGANJ PURSE—RS. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100. out of the entire stakes. For Arabs 14/2, C. B's 14/1 and other poines 14 hands and under. English and Austialasian poines 14/0 to carry 9st. 7lbs. C. B. poines 14/1 to carry 9 st. 0 lb. Arab ponies 14/2 to carry 8 st. 7 lbs. W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 500 or more, once, 7 lbs., twice 14 lbs., of a flat race value Rs. 900, or over 7 lbs., in addition to other penalties. Allowances—Ponies which have not won a flat race value Rs. 200 or over since 31st March, 1904, allowed 7 lbs. Distance—1000 yards. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 40.

THE DARIABAZ PURSE—Rs. 300, second to receive Rs. 70, the third Rs. 50, and the fourth Rs. 30, out of the entire stakes. For C. B. ponies 12/2 and under. Ponies 12/2 to carry 9/6. W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 50, or more, once, 7 lbs., twice 10 lbs., oftener 14 lbs. No licensed jockeys allowed to ride. Distance—$1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Entrance 1st November, when race will close, Rs. 8.

THE ASSAM PURSE—Rs. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third Rs. 50, out of the entire stakes. For maiden English and Australasian ponies 13/2 and under, and all English and Australasian ponies 13/1 and under, and Arabs and C.-B's. 13/2 and under. English and Australaian ponies 13/2 to carry 10st 7lbs. Arab pones 13/2 to carry 9st 4lbs. C. B. ponies 13/2 to carry 1st 9 lbs. Ponalties—Winners after 31st March, 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 500 or more, once, 7 lbs. twice, 10 lbs. Allowances—Ponies which have not won a flat race value Rs. 200, or over since 31st March, 1904, allowed 7 lbs. Distance—1000 yards. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 40.

There will be two extra races on this day, the terms of which will be published on the 20th November.

SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, 23RD NOVEMBER, 1905

THE BARISAL PURSE.—RS. 500, with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20 second to receive Rs. 100, and the third Rs 50, out of the entire stakes. A Handicap for Arabs and C. B's 14/0 and other ponies 13/3 and under. Distance—1000 yards. Entrance—2nd October. Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 40.

THE NAWAB'S PURSE.—Rs. 1500 presented to the Fund by NAWAB SALIMOLLAH BAHADUR, second to receive Rs. 300, and the third Rs. 200, out of the entire stakes. For Arabs 14/2, C. B's 14/1 and other ponies 14 hands and under English and Australasian ponies 14/0 to carry 9st 7lbs. C. B's 14/1 to carry 9st. Arab ponies 14/2 to carry 8st 7lbs. W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 900, 14 lbs. Allowances—ponies which have not won a flat race value Rs. 200 or over since 31st March, 1904, allowed 7 lbs. Distance—7 furlongs. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 50, 1st November, Rs. 70, 15th November when race will close Rs. 85.

THE K. A. O PURSE—Rs. 750 presented to the Fund by THE HEIRS of the late Nawab Ahsunollah Babadur, K. C. I. E., second to receive Rs. 100, and third Rs. 50, out of the entire stakes. For

ponies 13/2 and under entered for the Assam Purse, the first day. English and Australasian ponies 13/2 to carry 10st 4lbs. Arab ponies 13.2 to carey 9st 1 lb. C. B. ponies 13/2 to carry 8st 6 lbs. W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March 1903, of a flat race value Rs. 300 or more, once 7lbs. twice 10lbs. Winner of the Assam Purse the first day 7lbs. in addition to other penalties. allowances Ponies which have not won a flat race value Rs. 200 or over since 31st March, 1904, allowed 7 lbs. Distance—7 furlongs. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 40.

THE STEWARDS'PURSE.—Rs. 250 second to receive Rs. 50, the third Rs. 30 and the fourth Rs. 20, out of the entire stakes. For C. B. ponies 12/1 and under. Ponies 12/1 to carry 9-7 W. I. Penalties—Winners after 31st March, 1904, of a flatrace value Rs. 50 or more, once 7 lbs. twice 10lbs, oftener 14 lbs. No licensed jockeys allowed to ride, Distance—1000 yards. Entrance—1st November, when race will close, Rs. 8.

THE RANKIN PLATE.—Rs. 500 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third Rs. 50, out of the entire stakes. A Handicap for ponies 14/2 and under. Distance—6 furlongs. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 30, 15th November, when race will close. Rs. 40, with Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 p. m. on Tuesday, 21st November.

There will be two extra races on this day, the terms of which will be published on the 22nd November.

THIRD DAY, SATURDAY, 25TH NOVEMBER, 1905

THE JOYDEBPORE PURSE.—Rs. 1000, presented to the Fund by KUMAR RANENDRA NARAYAN ROY OF JOYDEBPORE to the winner, second Rs. 150, and the third Rs. 50. A Handicap for ponies entered for the Assam Purse, first day. Distance—$1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November, Rs. 25, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 30 with Rs 20, extra for ponies not struck cut by 7 P. M. on Thursday 23rd November.

THE CRITERION HANDICAP.—Rs. 250, second to receive Rs. 50, the third Rs. 30. and the fourth Rs. 20, out of the entire stakes. A Handicap for C. B. ponies 12.2 and under, entere in any race the first of second day. Distance—6 furlongs. Entrance—1st November, when race will close, Rs. 8 with Rs. 10 extra for ponies not struck our by 7 P. M. on Thursday, 23rd November. No licensed jockeys allowed to ride.

THE DILKHOSHA PLATE.— Rs. 500 with a strating sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third Rs. 50, out of the

entire stakes. A Handicap for Arabs 14.2 C. B's, 14/1, and other ponies 14/0, and under, entered in any race the first or second day. Distance $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Entrance 2nd October, Rs. 20, 1st November. Rs. 25, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 30, with Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 P. M. on Thursday, 23rd November.

THE MERCHANTS' PURSE.— Rs. 750 with a starting sweepstake of Rs. 20, second to receive Rs. 100, and the third pony Rs. 50, out of the entire stakes. A Handicap for Arabs and C. B's 14/0 and other ponies 13/3 and under, entered in any race the first or second day. Distance—$1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Entrance 2nd October Rs. 20, Ist November, Rs. 25, 15th November, when race will close, Rs. 80 with Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 P. M. on Thursday, 23rd November.

THE ICH DIEN CUP.— A cup value Rs. 300 presented to the Fund by MESSRS. HAMILTON & Co., and Rs. 200 from the Fund to the winner, Rs. 100 to the second, and Rs. 50 to the third. A Handicap for ponies 14/2 and under, entered in any race, the first or second day. Distance—$1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. Entrance—2nd October, Rs. 20. 1st November, Rs. 20 extra for ponies not struck out by 7 P. M. on Thursday, 23rd November.

There will be two extra races on this day, the terms of which will be published on the 24th November.

GENERAL CONDITIONS

1. In the event of there being less than six entries for any race, such race may be declared void.

In the event of a walk-over only half the added money will be given under Rule 140.

No third money will be given if there are less than five starters.

2. All riders to ride in colours, starting declarations (which must include rider's colurs and weights to be carried) to be made to the Honorary Secretary at 10 A. M. the day before the race. Jockey's fee for losing mount, if not already paid, must accompany starting declarations.

3. In races, other than selling races and handicaps, a landing allowance of 6 lbs. will be given to English and Australasian horses and ponies landed in India direct from the country of foaling or after the 1st July, 1905, the allowance to cease on the winning of a race of any description.

4. Owners are entirely responsible for the weight their own horses or ponies should carry, and any mistakes in the programme

shall be notified by owners or trainers in charge to the Clerk of the Scales, who will notify such alteration on the Stewards' Notice Board.

5. A Course fee of Rs. 5 will be charged for each horse or pony entered for the Dacca Meeting and trained or schooled on the Dacca Course between 1st September, 1905, and 20th November, 1905, and a Course Fee of Rs. 10 for every horse or pony between those dates and not so entered.

6. When a race is advertised to close on a particular day, it shall, unless otherwise specified, close at 7 P. M. on that day.

7. Entries MUST BE ACCOMPANIED by a remittance for the full amount of such entries, otherwise, they will be declined.

8. When a remittance is made to the Secretery without specifying the way in which it is to be applied; the money will be credited to the *stakes* in the order of the programme.

NOTICE

Admission to Grand Stand Enclosure, Rs. 5 a day Ladies Rs. 2. Subsc ibers of Rs. 16 to the Fund free.

Losers must settle their account on or before the 30th November.

A POLO TOURNAMENT

Will be held during the Meeting, the terms of which will be found at foot.

TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS

A lady and gentleman of good family and connections at home desire to take charge of one or two children or invalids. The former would be instructed in the rudiments of a good English education if desired.

The home is situated near Maidenhead—one of the prettiest localities in England—and is noted for its healthiness. Terms £100 per annum. The very best references will be given on applying to A. B. C. care of the PRINTERS.

FOR SALE

A throughbreed brindle bull-terrier bitch, about 18 months old. Price cash Rs. 30.

Apply to X. care of the Printer.

15.4.1876

NOTICE

TO CONTRACTORS

Tenders are called for the creation of 17 Temporary Barracks, each 30 feet long by 15 feet wide, within the cantonment at Dacca.

Plans and Specifications can be seen on application at the Undersigned's office.

Tenders endorsed "Tender for Temporary Barracks" will be received by the Undersigned up to 12 o'clock on the 16th Instant.

The Undersigned does not bind himself to accept the lowest or any Tender.

J. W. JOHNSON, C. K.

DACCA, The 9th May, 1876.

Officiating Executive Engineer, Dacca Division

13. 5. 1876

NOTICE

Reduction in Price. Rangoon Kerosine Oil in cases of two tins each. Rs. 12.-8 per case.

Dacca Agency, *Bengal Times Office.*

6.1.1877

FOR SALE

16,00 Maunds, or Ferrahs of Lime (burnt in March, 1877). At Rupees 54 per 100 Ferrahs, which are equal to 277 Cubic Feet.

Also any quantity of Sylhet Lime-stone, at Rs. 35 per 100 Maunds.

Apply to Babaoo Dhurmo Narain Bhutto.

Offg. Supt. for Messrs. H. INGLIS 7 Co.

Chuttuck. Sylhet.

Terms Cash, and delivery given at Chuttuck only.

(87)

8.12.1877

NOTICE

The Bengal Times is filed in the Reference and Indian Intelligence Department, in the Indian Court, International Exhibition, South Kensington, London.

ADVERTISEMENTS

TRUST. N. P. POGOSE

TO BE SOLD by the Official Trustees of Bengal, by Public Auction at Man jeeparra (Pulma). on Wednesday. the 1st day of August, 1883, and on the following days at the same time and place.

The following valuable zemindaries and other properties.

Lot No.	Towjes No.	Name of Estate and District	Approximat e Area in Biggahs	Government Revenue	Remarks.
1	83	Mehal Dachi Engee in District Bogra. Sub-Division Bogra	..	2,1247 $10\frac{1}{2}$	Eight annas share
	401	Mehal Rassmed Elangee, in District Bogra, Sub-Division Bogra	12,944	27 104	Eight annas share
2	83	Mehal Dehi, Belchapre, in District Bogra, Sub-Division Bogra	10,713	1,798,147	Sixteen annas share
3	148	A Zemindary situated in Pergunnah Berahimpore, District Pubna, Sub-Division Pubna, consisting of the following Mouzahs :— Notibpore, Dharal, Vate Rogunathpore, Magorrail Makhanb ari, Ambaria, Gopaulbari, Ramnagur, Gobind Kartick, Gacha Gram, Piakan	14,385	1,972.13-3	Sixteen annas share
4	291	A Zamindary called Mehal Bhangura, in Pergunnah So Nabajoo, in District Pubna, Sub Divialon Pubna, concealing of the fullowing Mowzahs :— Nandanpore, Badalpore Dalampore Gopanlpore, BELKINDI* Habeelee,	..		Sixteen annas share
		Raksa bari, Brikabany alias Galkata, Karjoni Ratnaghe *alias* Sonahara, and others Vinnagchee, Hariabari, Lokecole,	.	..	*Twelve annas share
		Ayjan to . Pauchjauntibar Routbari, Kord Koidanga, Ramchunderpore, Pathailhat, Narakate, Pay daboidjaun, Chakkantpas sers, Korat	23,152	1,539 90	Sixteen annas share

	.	Kandi, Kordkauntpassar, Dagapassabari, Chuckgoomkarra, Brigooyakarra Sahatubpore ...			
5		Putnee Mehal Gooriegacha, in Pergunnah Sonabajoo in District Pubna, Sub-Division Pubna		.	
6		Jote Jeebun Poramanick	1,3751 Kada 6.5 Pakee or 59 Bigas	530 74 15-0-0	
6	.	Jote Sadaree Poramanick Purgunnah Attia, Zillah Pubna, Sub-Division Pubna	1 Kada or 56 Bigas	10-0-0	
7		A Pucca House at Doolai, Pergunnah Berahimpore, District Pubna, Sub Division Pubna, with 33 biggahs, of land formerly the dwelling house of azimoodeen Chowdoory, bounded on the North, South, East and West, by a Moat or ditch			
8		A Pucca House at Pubna, with land, belonging thereto, bounded and butted as follows:— on the North and South by land, in the occupation of Ryata, West, by a Public Road, East by Reasmutiee Khal, a present in the occupation of the Judge of Pubna, at a rental of Rs 80 per month		..	Subject to Jotedar's Rent of Rs 27 15 perannum
9	.	A closed Factory at Gowslungar, Malda, in Tinpa Chapali In Distict Pubna, and sub-Division Pubna Consisting of 6 5 pair of vats bounded on the South by Madhoo Fakir Bisso Mirds and Girinal jote land West by Janoki Gooha and others, jote land, and North and East by Meian Sheik's jote land	.	12	.

For conditions of Sale and further particulars, apply to

A. B. MILLER,

Official Trustee.80[৯১]

Town Hall, Calcutta

32-83

FOR SALE

A PUCKA TWO STORED HOUSE NO. 39 Armaniantollah and a PIECE OF LAND, Nos. 38, and 71, ARMENIANTOLLAH, DACCA.

The Sale will take place on the above preemies, on Monday, the 18th June, 1883, at 4 P. M.

The purchaser must pay to me, immediately on the lot being knocked down, 25 *per centum* on the amount of his purchase money, another balance of the purchase money on the 15th day after the stale inclusive of such day. In default of which, the sum already paid shall be forfeited, and the defauting purchaser shall forfeit all claim to the property and the sum so forfeited.

For all particular apply to me,

ROMAKUNTA NUNDY

DACCA,
The 8th June,
1883.

Receiver, Estate of late
Mrs. D. J CATCHICK

9.6.1883

ADVERTISEMENTS

Ramsay Wakefield and Co.,

REGENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

Gentlemen's Dressing Gowns

DIAGONAL TWEED DRESSING GOWNS Grey and Brown with Girdle to match. Rs. 15-8.

DITTO DITTO Brown and Grey leather mixtures. Rs. 16-8 and 17-8

CHECK TWEED DRESSING GOWNS. New fancy checks. with Girdle in match Rs. 62-8.

BEAVER LINED CASHMERE GOWNS. Gray Drab and fawn. edged colored Silk Cord, Girdle to match. Rs. 25.8.

AUSTRIAN CHECK DRESSING GOWNS. Very handsoms large checks, of the finest Saxony Angola wool, edged with Fancy Silk Cord and Girdle to match. Rs 31.8.

WESTMERIA DRESSING GOWNS, handsome Cashmere designs Scarlet. ... edged Fancy Silk Cord and Girdle to match Rs. 8

THE CEAR DESSING GOWN : Very handsome Checks, the finest quality Angola Wood, ... milled and very warm. Girdle to match Rs. 37

NEW LOOP CLOTH DRESSING GOWNS : Fancy colors. similar make to turkish Bath Towels with colored Girdle. Rs. 15-8.

GENTLEMEN'S HANDKERCHIEFS

Gentlemen's Irish Linen Handkerchiefs, 22 inches square. Rs. 6-8 8-3 10-8 12-8 14—and 16.8 per dozen. Linen Finished Handkerchiefs—Special. For ordinary use. Rs. 6 per dozen.

Colored Bordered Handkerchiefs, Pure Linen, Great Bargain. Rs. 6-8 per dozen.

Pure Linen Cambric Fancy Borders and

Hamstitched Handkerchiefs.

Rs. 12.8 and 16-8 per dozen.

GENTLEMEN'S HAT CASES

Japaned block Tin Hat Cases, bucket Shape.
Rs 7.8 such.
... leather Hat Cases Bucket Shape.
Rs. 10.8 each.
Ditto ditto, double Rs. 22-8 each.

EASY AND PERFECT FITTING SHIRTS

Made to measure. Fit Guaranteed.
PURE LONG CLOTH SHIRTS.

Very strong for ordinary Wear. Rs 24 to 33 per dozen.

BEST WHITE SHIRTS

Made of Pure Long Cloth with fine Irish Linen Fronts and Cuffs.

Rs. 30.0 in 48.0 per dozen ; with Shakespeare Collars, Rs. 4 extra.

3.2.1886

ADVERTISEMENTS

TRUST N. P. POGOSE

FOR SALE

Valuable Zemindary properties situate in the districts of Mymensingh, (Pergonnah Joanshye) and Backereunge (Tuppah) Bhadurpore and Joar ...., comprising Howlahs and Neem Howlahs ; also, the Malikhana right of the temporary Settlement Mahals

comprised in Ahad Barra Buzdya on lease for 1288, B. S.—And tenanted lands and shops in Dacca.

For further particulars,

Apply to

JOHN S. N. POGOSE,
Agent for the Official Trustee of Bengal
At his Office in Bangla Bazar, Dacca.

12-86

10.12.1886

THE BENGAL TIMES
(DACCA, EAST BENGAL)

Published every Wednesday and Saturday.

Rates of Subscription to the "Bengal Times."

Period.	Town Edition.		Dawk Edition including postage	
For twelve months	Rs.	As	Rs.	As.
Advance ..	20	"	24	8
arrear ..	26	"	20	8
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"arrear	"	9	"	10

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3 months certain. 6 months certain. 12 months certain

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Col.	Rs.	25	Rs.	20	Rs.	15
"	"	35	"	30	"	15
"	"	60	"	50	"	40

These rates are not applicable to the first and last pages of this journal, which are charged one-third more, nor can any advertisement be inserted in these pages, except on a contract for one year, unless under special agreements.

[*Casual Advertisements are inserted at four (a) annas per line space of Bourgeosse measure, and in every case, are payable in advance.*

For over forty years, this journal has catered for the social and political interests and requirements of this side of India, and has by long years of energetic intellectual struggle, attained the position it now holds as a first-class Provincial journal. It is the only European-edited paper—excluding Darjeeling—between Calcutta and Assam.

Rates of advertising in the *Bengal Times*

A month comprises eight or nine insertions, according as there are days in it. No advertisements, however small, inserted under one rupee. Every advertisement for which a contract is entered into for any definite period, is received as implying that, it runs for that period as a minimum duration, and at a fixed rate, collated upon such duration. A contract for one year means for that period *at least*, and will be continued, until withdrawn, unless otherwise agreed. It is terminable upon due notice and not terminated without such notice.' Parties exceeding that limit, become liable to be charged at single insertion rates, if they withdraw either before the limit specified has expired, or within any time of a similar period, subsequently. Thus, an uncancelled contract for one year at a given rate. If extended to any portion of another year, must continue for the full period of that other year, or be liable to casual rates. They benefit of contract rates cannot be enjoyed by parties who withdraw at uncompleted periods of existing. expressed, or implied contracts. All broken periods of a month. except in cases in which less than a month may have been expressly arranged for, will be liable to be charged as one month, at casual rates, and no contract, except specially stipulated for, can be recognized for less than three months, and for less than a quarter of a column at contract rates, in any case ADVERTISEMENTS received, if countermanded after one or more issues of a month, will be charged for the remaining issues of that month, at least, at single insertion rates.

If not so paid, or if not paid on demand thay are liable to be charged at current rates, viz an enhancement or twenty-five percent. (not per annum) on the original amount.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES are inserted as two rupees per insertion.

Advertisers are particularly requested to notify change of advertisement before the preceding Wednesday of a Saturday's issue, or before the Monday procceding Wednesday's issues, in which they wish such change to appear, otherewise, their instructions cannot be attended to till a subsequent issue.

All advertisements not accompanied by instructions directing their insertion in institution for advertisements already appearing in contract space, will be regarded as extra advertisements, and charged for at our ordinary casual rate, of four annan per line of bourgeois space, an will be inserted, like any other advertisement, until directions are received for their withdrawal.

N. B. All business connection with this journal is conducted upon, an implied acknowledgment that these rules are binding upon all parties to contracts. No excuse will hereafter be adulated, purporting that they were not carefully read, or were misunderstood.The Manager claims a *right* to enforce them, and those not agreeable, should take a preliminary objection, ... none can hereafter be accepted as valid.

All bills and claims, of whatever nature, made by the press, if not paid immediately they become due. with or without presentation of account, may be charged with interest at twenty-four percent. per annum added.

18.9.1905

The World's best **Bicycle**

THE

Cleveland

KNOWN THE WORLD OVER

THE CLEVELAND embodies the most up-to-date features of Cycle Construction.

Our new ANTI-FRICTION bearing is the most startling novelty on the market. This can be turned at the rate of 35,000 REVOLUTIONS PER MINUTE against 13,000 revolutions in the best of the ordinary style bearings.

Enquiries solicited from firms of standing who are in a position to take up our agency.

THE LOZIER MANUFACTURING CO.,

24 to 27 Orchard Street,

LONDON, W.

3-1-1900

HAIG & HAIG'S
WHISKIES

HAIG & HAIG

"THREE STAR"
SPECIAL SCOTS
Rs. 28 per dozen.

HAIG & HAIG

HAIG & HAIG'S
SPECIAL LIQUEUR SCOTS
"FIVE STAR"
Rs. 35 per dozen.

The Finest and Best Matured Scotch Whisky Scotland produces.

Samples free on application to the Sole Agents:—

CUTLER, PALMER & Co., CALCUTTA.

N. B.—Haig's Whiskies are worthy your attention.

3-1-1900

LOW VITALITY.

DR CHURCHILL'S SYRUP of HYPOPHOSPHITE OF LIME

is prescribed by the Faculty for the cure of

CONSUMPTION, CHRONIC COUGHS, AND GENERAL DEBILITY.

It contains two of the principal ingredients necessary for building up the human frame, and which are considered deficient in the above complaints, viz: PHOSPHORUS and LIME. It cannot be too highly recommended for DELICATE CHILDREN.

DR CHURCHILL'S

Compound Syrup of

HYPOPHOSPHITES

... and in cases of Muscular and Nervous Exhaustion has acquired a world-wide reputation. Each bottle bears CHURCHILL'S SIGNATURE.

Price 4 fr.

Prepared only by

SWANN, CHEMIST,

12, rue CASTIGLIONE, PARIS.

THE GENUINE

DR. GUILLIE'S ELIXIR

Tonic, Anti-Glaireous, and Anti-bilious Prepared

by DR. PAUL GAGE, FILS,

Chemist of the 1st Class.

The only proprietor of that remedy.

9, RUE DE GRENELLE-ST.-GERMAIN,

PARIS.

——(o)——

DR. GUILLIE'S ELIXIR is one of the most economical medicines, both as a PURGATIVE and as a DEPURATIVE, it is the best remedy against all BILIOUS and GLAIREOUS disorders.

FOR MORE THAN SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS, DR. GUILLIE'S ELIXIR has been employed with success against diseases of the LIVER, the SPLEEN, the HEART RHEUMATISM, GOUT, FEVER, INFLUENZA, SKIN DISEASES, etc.

BEWARE OF IMITATIONS, and see that you get the GENUINE DR. GUILLIE'S ELIXIR, which bears the signature of PAUL GAGE, and mark that each bottle is accompanied by a TREATISE ON GLAIRE.

Sold by all Druggists, Patent Medicine Dealers

and by

Messrs W. E. SMITH & Co., MADRAS.

AGENTS FOR INDIA

APIOL & STEEL PILLS

for Ladies

A FRENCH REMEDY FOR ALL IRREGULARITIES,

Superseding Bitter Apple, Pil Cochia, Pennyroyal, &c

Obtainable from Smith, Stanistreet & Co., CALCUTTA, and of all Chemists.

Proprietor :—

MARTIN, Pharm., Chemist, SOUTHAMPTON, ENG.

LONDON

AGENTS FOR THIS PAPER

MESSRS. STREET,

30, Cornhill, E. C.

MESSRS. ROBERT WATSON,

150, Fleet Street, E. C.,

Messrs. CLARKE, SON & PLATT,

85, Gracechurch Street, E. C.

BURN & CO., Ld.



For Particulars and Prices of

GLAZED STONEWARE PIPES, FIRE BRICKS, ROOFING AND FLOORING TILES &c., &c.

Apply to

7, HASTINGS STREET,

CALCUTTA,

or to

THE POTTERIES,

RANEEGUNGE OR JUBBULPORE.

17-1-1900

THE

ST. JAMES'S BUDGET

(LONDON)

AN ILLUSTRATED REVIEW AND RECORD OF NEWS.

The Most Attractive and Interesting Pictorial Paper for

ENGLISH PEOPLE RESIDING ABROAD.

EVERY FRIDAY, SIXPENCE.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED.

SOME SHORT OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"In every respect, it is a credit to English pictorial journalism."—*Daily Telegraph.*

"A better sixpenny worth is not to be found anywhere."—*Evening News and Post.*

"Certainly nothing better of the kind has been produced."—*Star.*

"An ideal production of illustrated journalism."—*Birmingham Gazette.*

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"A veritable *édition de luxe.* ....Far superior to anything previously attempted in this line."—*Irish Times.*

E. SHIRCORE & CO.

Chronometer Watch Makers,

MANUFACTURING JEWELLERS

and dealers in PRECIOUS STONES, have always in stock Gold and Silver WATCHES and JEWELLERY of [illegible] designs and are prepared to execute any jewellery orders and watch repairs at the shortest notice.

E. SHIRCORE AND Co. have received numerous testimonials of [illegible] workmanship and prompt execution. They defy competition

[illegible] *few.*

E. SHIRCORE AND CO.,

[illegible], DHURRUMTOLLAH STREET,

CALCUTTA.

LOW VITALITY.

DR. CHURCHILL'S SYRUP of HYPOPHOSPHITE [illegible]

is prescribed by the Faculty for the cure of

CONSUMPTION CHRONIC COUGHS, AND GENERAL DEBILITY

[illegible] the principal ingredients necessary for building up the human frame, and which [illegible] in the above complaints, [illegible] It cannot be too highly [illegible]

DR. CHURCHILL'S

[illegible] Syrup of

HYPOPHOSPHITES

[illegible] Muscular and

MANAGER'S NOTICE.

All those indebted to this Journal are requested kindly to remit what is owing. There are many in arrears, who will please understand that we make a difference in favour of ADVANCE payments [illegible] they are advance. We trust constituents will not expect us to receive advance rates upon any other consideration.

CLARKE'S B 41 PILLS are warranted to cure, in either sex, all acquired or constitutional Discharges from the Urinary Organs, Gravel, and Pains in the back. Free from Mercury. Established upwards of 30 years. In boxes, 4s. 6d. each, of all Chemists and Patent Medicine Vendors throughout the World. Proprietors, The Lincoln and Midland Counties Drug Company, Lincoln, England.

ANCHOR LINE OF STEAMERS.

INDIAN SERVICE.

The following sailings have been arranged

From

CALCUTTA TO LONDON.

Steamer	Captain.	Tons.	Sailing about
S.S. Dalmatia	J. Thomson	3817	20th Jan. 1900.
" " *Asia*	J. Laird.	3611	11th Febry. Do.

For particulars apply to

GRAHAM & Co.,

No. 9, Clive Street, Agents.

CALCUTTA

APIOL & STEEL PILLS

A FRENCH REMEDY FOR ALL IRREGULARITIES

Superseding Bitter Apple, Pil Cochia, Pennyroyal &c.

Obtainable from Smith, Stanistreet & Co., CALCUTTA and of all Chemists.

Proprietor :—

MARTIN, Pharm., Chemist, SOUTHAMPTON, ENG.

LONDON.

17-1-1900

20-1-1900



ONE NIGHT TREATMENT FOR SORE HANDS

Bathe and soak the hands, on retiring, in a strong, hot, creamy lather of CUTICURA SOAP. Dry, and anoint freely with CUTICURA Ointment, the great skin cure and purest of emollients. Wear, during the night, old, loose, kid gloves, with the finger ends cut off and holes cut in the palms. For red, rough, chapped, and discoloured hands, dry, fissured, itching, feverish palms, shapeless nails with painful finger ends, this one night treatment is simply wonderful.

FOR BABY'S SKIN Scalp, and hair, no other soap is so cleansing, purifying, and beautifying as CUTICURA SOAP, the most effective of skin and complexion soaps, as well as purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and nursery. For infantile rashes, chafings, inflammations, and eruptions, for crusted, itching irritations of the scalp, with dry, thin, and falling hair, for red, rough hands with shapeless nails, and simple blemishes of infancy, when assist[illegible] anointings with CUTICURA Ointment, it is absolutely without a rival.

[illegible] British depot: F. Newbery & Sons, London. French depot [illegible] Paris. Australian depot: R. Towns & Co., Sydney. [illegible] Boston, U.S.A.

THE

RIENTAL GOVERNMENT SECURITY

Life Assurance Company, Ld.

ESTABLISHED 1874.

ALL INTENDING ASSURERS

SHOULD SEND FOR THE

NEW PROSPECTUS

3-2-1900

10-2-1900



Make Your Hair Grow

With warm shampoos of CUTICURA SOAP and light dressings of CUTICURA, purest of emollient skin cures. This treatment at once stops falling hair, removes crusts, scales, and dandruff, soothes irritated, itching surfaces, stimulates the hair follicles, supplies the roots with energy and nourishment, and makes the hair grow when all else fails.

☞ CUTICURA SOAP is not only the most effective of skin purifiers and beautifiers but the purest and sweetest of toilet, bath, and baby soaps.

Sold throughout the world. British depot: F. Newbery & Sons, London. French depot: [illegible] Australian depot: R. Towns & Co., Sydney. Potter Drug and Chem. Corp., Sole Props., Boston, U.S.A.

THE

ORIENTAL GOVERNMENT SECURITY

Life Assurance Company, Ld.

ESTABLISHED 1874.

ALL INTENDING ASSURERS

SHOULD SEND FOR THE

NEW PROSPECTUS

Containing Reduced Rates

And Every Liberal Concession

POSSIBLE IN LIFE ASSURANCE.

FUNDS EXCEED Rs. 1,50,00,000

in Government Securities

CLAIMS PAID OVER Rs. 94,00,000

ENDOWMENTS & ANNUITIES ON PARTICULARLY ADVANTAGEOUS TERMS.

Write for Prospectus, Proposal Forms, and any further information to—

17-2-1900

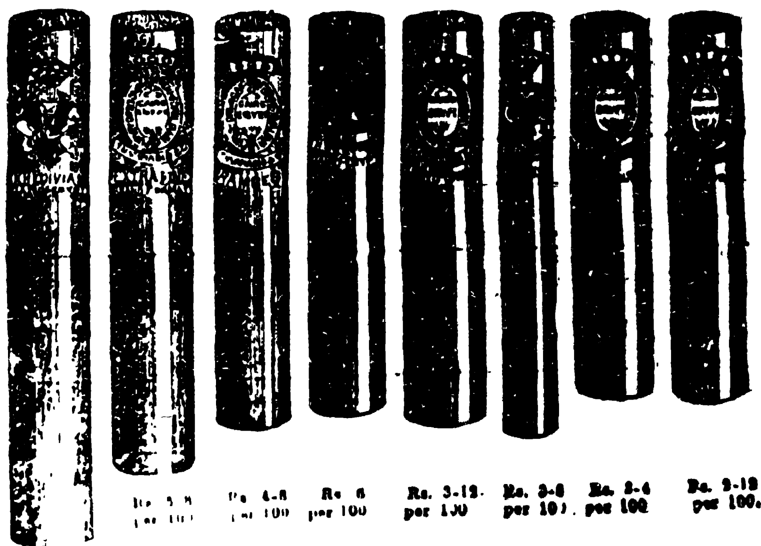
THE

HOUSEHOLD WORD IN INDIA

THEODORO VAFIADIS AND CO.'S

HIGH-CLASS EGYPTIAN CIGARETTES

Adopted by all Leading Clubs and Messes Throughout the Globe.



Manufactory at Cairo.

SOLD EVERY FORTNIGHT THROUGHOUT INDIA ONLY

1,000,000.

TH. VAFIADIS & CO.,

4, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.

Guaranteed fresh supply every fortnight by the Royal Mail Steamers.

3-3-1900

THE ONLY RELIABLE DISINFECTANTS

ARE

CALVERT'S

No. 5 FLUID CARBOLIC

In 8 and 16 oz. ribbed Bottles, at 1/- & 1/6 each
½, ¼, & 1 gallon Tins, at 2/6, 4/-, & 6/6 each.
(The quality adopted by the British Government after bacteriological tests.)

CARBOLIC POWDER,

guaranteed to contain 15% CALVERT'S
No. 5 CARBOLIC, the strongest Disinfectant known
(Cheaper in using than other so-called Carbolic Powders), in ½, 1 & 2 lb. Tins, at 6d., 1/-, & 1/6 each.

Bulk lots at lower proportionate rates.

Dr R. M. GOVER, in his report to the Director-General of Prisons, says:—
"Carbolic Acid is the *most certain and powerful* of the numerous substances used as antiseptics and disinfectants. The preparations supplied by Messrs. CALVERT & Co. are, in my opinion, *much superior to those of any other manufacturer.*"

F. C. CALVERT & Co.,
Manchester, England,
GOVERNMENT PURVEYORS.



Awarded 67 Gold & Silver
Medals & Diplomas
for the Superior Excellence of their Carbolic Preparations.

The Best The Best

BAHADUR CIGARS

McDOWELL AND CO., (Ld.)

MADRAS.

The Best The Best

7-3-1900

10-3-1900

17-3-1900

BEAUTIFUL SKIN

Soft White Hands

Luxuriant Hair

Produced by

Cuticura SOAP

The most effective skin purifying and beautifying soap in the world, as well as purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and nursery. The only preventive of pimples, blackheads, red, rough, and oily skin, red, rough hands with itching palms and shapeless nails, dry, thin, and falling hair, and simple baby blemishes, because the only preventive of the cause, viz., inflammation and clogging of the PORES.

INSTANT RELIEF SPEEDY CURE. FOR EVERY HUMOUR

Warm baths with CUTICURA SOAP, gentle anointings with CUTICURA, purest of emollient skin cures, followed by mild doses of CUTICURA RESOLVENT, greatest of blood purifiers and humour cures, afford instant relief, permit rest and sleep, and point to a speedy, permanent, and economical cure of the most torturing, disfiguring, itching, burning, bleeding, scaly, and crusted skin, scalp, and blood humours, with loss of hair, when all else fails.

Sold throughout the world. British depot: F. NEWBERY & SONS, London. French depot: L. Midy, Paris. Australian depot: R. TOWNS & Co., Sydney. POTTER DRUG AND CHEM. CORP., Sole Props., Boston, U.S.A.

24-3-1900

Cuticura SOAP

For the Complexion

To purify and beautify the skin and prevent pimples, blotches, blackheads, redness, roughness, yellow, oily, mothy skin, chapping, tan, sunburn, and many other forms of skin blemishes, no other skin or complexion soap is for a moment to be compared with CUTICURA SOAP, because no other soap reaches the cause, viz., the clogged, irritated, or inflamed condition of the Pores.



For Red Rough Hands

Soak the hands, on retiring, in a strong, hot lather of CUTICURA SOAP. Dry thoroughly, and anoint freely with CUTICURA Ointment, the great skin cure and purest of emollients. Wear, during the night, old, loose kid gloves. For red, rough, chapped hands, dry, fissured, itching, feverish palms, shapeless nails with painful finger ends, this one night treatment is simply wonderful.



For Hair and Scalp



For Sanative Uses



INSTANT RELIEF

SPEEDY CURE

FOR EVERY HUMOUR

31-3-1900

EVERY HOUSEHOLD AND TRAVELLING TRUNK OUGHT TO CONTAIN A BOTTLE OF

ENO'S 'FRUIT SALT'

A Simple Remedy for Preventing & Curing by Natural Means



All Functional Derangements of the Liver, Temporary Congestion arising from Alcoholic Beverages, Errors in Diet, Biliousness, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Vomiting, Heartburn, Sourness of the Stomach, Constipation, Thirst, Skin Eruptions, Boils, Feverish Cold with High Temperature and Quick Pulse, Influenza, Throat Affections, and Fevers of all kinds.

SMALL-POX, SCARLET FEVER, PYÆMIA, ERYSIPELAS, MEASLES, GANGRENE, and almost every mentionable Disease. "I have been a nurse for ten years, and have nursed cases of scarlet fever, pyæmia, erysipelas, measles, gangrene, cancer, and almost every mentionable disease. During this time I have not been ill for a single day, and this I attribute to the use of Eno's 'Fruit Salt,' which has kept my blood in a pure state. I recommend it to all my patients during convalescence. Its value as a means of health cannot be over estimated."—A PROFESSIONAL NURSE (Qualified).

THE EFFECT OF ENO'S 'FRUIT SALT' ON A DISORDERED, SLEEPLESS, AND FEVERISH CONDITION IS SIMPLY MARVELLOUS. IT IS, IN FACT, NATURE'S OWN REMEDY, AND AN UNSURPASSED ONE.

CAUTION.—*See capsule marked* ENO'S 'FRUIT SALT.' *Without it you have a WORTHLESS IMITATION.*

Prepared only by J. C. ENO, Ltd., at the 'FRUIT SALT' WORKS, LONDON, by J. C. ENO'S Patent.

DINNEFORD'S

The Universal Remedy for Acidity of the Stomach, Headache, Heartburn, Indigestion, Sour Eructations, Bilious Affections.

The Physician's Cure for Gout, Rheumatic Gout and Gravel; the safest and most gentle Medicine for Infants, Children, Delicate Females, and the Sickness of Pregnancy.



MAGNESIA

Sold throughout the World.

N.B. ASK FOR DINNEFORD'S MAGNESIA.

4-4-1900

NESTLÉ'S SWISS MILK

(RICHEST IN CREAM)

Keeps better than any other Brand

NESTLE'S

MILK FOOD,

(INVALUABLE IN HOT CLIMATES)

A complete diet for INFANTS and INVALIDS.

A metal cover given Free with each tin of Milk.
Ask for Nestlé's Swiss Milk and take no other.
Nestlé's Milk Food is the Safest Diet for infants.
Requires No addition of Fresh Cow's Milk.
Recommended by leading European and Native Doctors.
Wholesale from all Importers and Colootollah Shops.
Retail from all leading Oilmen's Stores, Municipal Market,
Dhurumtollah and Park Street Shops.

HENRI NESTLE AGENCY.

General Representatives for Bengal, Assam, United Provinces and Central Provinces,

MEYER, SOETBEER & CO.,

CALCUTTA,—4, POLLOCK STREET.

DINNEFORD'S

The Physician's Cure for Gout, Rheumatic Gout and Gravel.

Remedy for Acidity of the Stomach, Headache, Heartburn, Indigestion, Sour Eructations, Bilious Affections.

Safest and most Gentle Medicine for Infants, Children, Delicate Females, and the Sickness of Pregnancy.



MAGNESIA

22-4 1904

CEYLON PRECIOUS STONES direct from the gemming district to jewellery manufacturers sample packet of 100 cut stones, rubies, sapphires, &c., 25 —Send P. O. Money Order to J WICKRAMANAYAKA & Co., Kalutara, Ceylon, and try a packet, it will lead to good business.

J WICKRAMANAYAKA & Co.,

Kalutara, P O, CEYLON

"ENGLAND: a file of our paper can always be seen during business hours at our English office, Fleet Street, London, E C, where Messrs E. & J. Hardy & Co are prepared to receive and forward to any news, subscriptions, or advertisements."

WANTED

Work for a Mechanic trained in Japan, who has a shop at Patuatali, Dacca, under the title of B. Bosock and Co.

He is a Harmonium Maker, Musical Instrument repairer; Rubber Stamp manufacturer; Cycle repairer; Gun repairer; Scientific Instrument repairer (Instruments of various capacities). Watch repairer. Locks and Lamps repaired.

Electrician; an expert in arranging Electric lights or illuminating purposes; Government typewriter repairer; Electro plater, Electro block and Wooden block-maker.

Perfumer—Scents out of country fruits and flowers.

Dacca cloth—Screens and Sheets, &c., by his machinery, priced from two rupees, upwards. Thread and Cloth machine maker.

Stamping, marking, Blue, Black and Red Ink manufacturer.

Cups, plates, and ornaments (necklaces, &c.) made of Camphor. Brass and Iron founder, Carpentry and Metallic designer.

BILL-POSTER AND CIRCULATING AGENT.

SPECTACLES, PINCE-NEZ

and

GLARE PROTECTORS

accurately and

scientifically

prepared.

Established

1844.

SOLOMONS & Co.,

(E. HASKEW, MANAGER,)

7, Government Place, Calcutta.

TRY US for the supply or repair of any or all and kinds of Surveying, Scientific, Optical or Mathematical Instruments. Watch & Clock Work & Jewellery very carefully done.

Entirely European supervision.

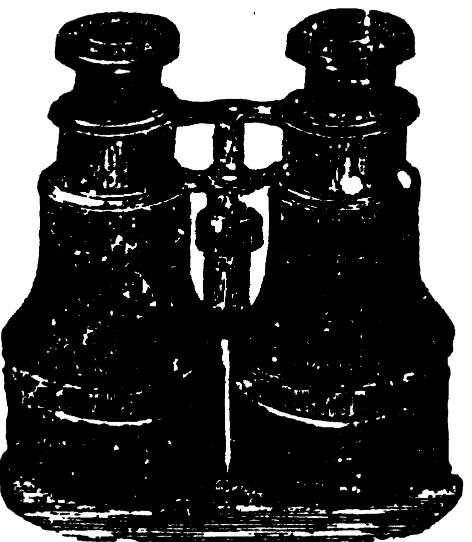
14-5-1904

JAMES MURRAY & CO.,

By Special Appointment to H. E. Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India,

Estab. 1830.] 12. GOVERNMENT PLACE, CALCUTTA. [Estab. 1830.

'THE ACME.'



OUR LEADING LINE [illegible] BINOCULARS made throughout with especial attention to finish, quality and durability.

No. 1. Height closed, 6½ inches; very high power, clear field, and achromatic lenses. An eminently suitable glass for stalking deer and big game. From Rs. 65 to Rs. 105.

No. 2. Height closed, 5½ inches; From Rs 60 to Rs. 95.

No. 3. Height closed, 4½ inches; Rs. 50. Being a very serviceable type of glass, we stock several qualities and sizes for Military, Marine, Field, Sporting and other purposes.

Clear, powerful, of great definition, with large field and of simple construction, with no complicated parts to get out of order, we can recommend these as good all-round glasses for almost any purpose. We solicit a trial to prove our statement.

Cheap and efficient binoculars, similar in size and make to above, Rs. 16 to Rs. 20. Old Binoculars repaired and done up as new. Special Catalogue of Binoculars and Telescopes post-free on application.

4-6-1904

8-6-1904

In Regular Use in the
RUSSIAN IMPERIAL NURSERY.

Neave's
Food

For INFANTS
Invaluable during Teething.

For INVALIDS
Strengthening and Nourishing.

For THE AGED
Digestible at all times.

ESTABLISHED OVER THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY.

Adopted in
DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES.

Is Recommended by
Sir Chas. A. Cameron, C.B., M.D.
Dr. Gordon Stables.
The "Lancet."
"Baby."

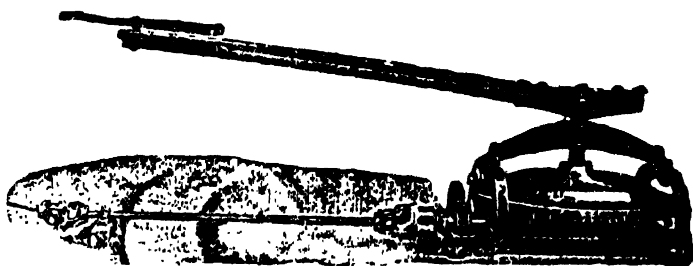
GOLD MEDAL,
LONDON (ENG.), 1900.

Manufacturers: JOSIAH R. NEAVE & CO., Fordingbridge, England.

15-6-1904

BURN & CO. Ld.

HOWRAH.



BULLOCK GEARS WITH INCREASING
MOTION ON SAME FRAME IN STOCK
MAKING 36 REVOLUTIONS TO 1 OF BULLOCK
Suitable For Driving
FLOUR MILLS, CHAFFCUTTERS,
OIL MILLS, PUMPS, PRESSES, ETC.,
All of which we can furnish from stock.
"EAGLE" SAW COTTON GINS.
For hand or power
BULLOCK PUG MILLS for CLAY.
Special low prices from Stock.
SPECIAL GRID SOORKEY MILL
With Screening Bottom on Pan.
TPUT—80 to 100 Cu. Feet per hour, from a 7 Ft. Pan.
All classes of Engines, Boilers, **Pumps, Tools**
& Engineering Stores available from **Stock.**

2-7-1904

BAD COMPLEXIONS

Dry Thin and Falling Hair, and Red Rough Hands Prevented by

CUTICURA SOAP

MILLIONS use CUTICURA SOAP, assisted by CUTICURA OINTMENT, for preserving, purifying, and beautifying the skin, for cleansing the scalp of crusts, scales, and dandruff, and the stopping of falling hair, for softening, whitening, and soothing red, rough, and sore hands, for baby rashes, itchings, and chafings, in the form of baths for annoying irritations and inflammations, or too free or offensive perspiration, in the form of washes, for ulcerative weaknesses, and for many sanative, antiseptic, cleansing purposes which readily suggest themselves to women, especially mothers, and for all the purposes of the toilet, bath, and nursery. CUTICURA SOAP combines delicate emollient properties derived from CUTICURA OINTMENT, the great skin cure, with the purest of cleansing ingredients and the most refreshing of flower odours. No other *medicated* soap is to be compared with it for preserving, purifying, and beautifying the skin, scalp, hair, and hands. No other foreign or domestic *toilet* soap, however expensive, is to be compared with it for all the purposes of the toilet, bath, and nursery. Thus it combines in ONE SOAP at ONE PRICE, the BEST skin and complexion soap, and the BEST toilet and baby soap in the world.

COMPLETE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL TREATMENT FOR EVERY HUMOUR

Consisting of CUTICURA SOAP, to cleanse the skin of crusts and scales, and soften the thickened cuticle, CUTICURA OINTMENT, to instantly allay itching, inflammation, and irritation, and soothe and heal; and CUTICURA RESOLVENT PILLS, to cool and cleanse the blood. A SINGLE SET is often sufficient to cure torturing, disfiguring humours, eczemas, rashes, and irritations, with loss of hair, when all else fails. Sold throughout the world. Australian Depot: R. TOWNS & CO., Sydney. British Depot: 27-28, Charterhouse Sq., London. French Depot: 5 Rue de la Paix, Paris. POTTER DRUG AND CHEM CORP., Sole Props., Boston, U.S.A.

CUTICURA RESOLVENT PILLS (Chocolate Coated) are a new, tasteless, odourless, economical substitute for the celebrated liquid CUTICURA RESOLVENT, as well as for all other blood purifiers and humour cures. Put up in screw-cap pocket vials, containing 60 doses. CUTICURA PILLS are alterative, antiseptic, tonic, and digestive, and beyond question the purest, sweetest, most successful and economical blood and skin purifiers, humour cures, and tonic digestives, yet compounded.

2-7 1904

The only Medicine of the kind awarded a Certificate at the [illegible], 1883-84, open to all Countries

REGISTERED **D^R LALOR'S** TRADE MARK

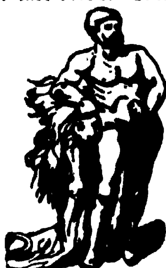
PHOSPHODYNE

HAS THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY PHOSPHORIC MEDICINE IN THE WORLD.

For forty years has maintained its world-wide reputation as the Best and only safe reliable Phosphoric Cure for Brain Weakness, Paralysis Sleeplessness, Dyspepsia, Nerve, Kidney and Liver Complaints Harassing Dreams, Premature Decay of Vital Power, General Debility all Blood Disorders, and all Functional and Diseased Conditions of the System, caused by the deficiency of the Vital Forces

The effect of this Standard Phosphoric Remedy in Nervous Debility and its kindred Evils is immediate and permanent, all the Miserable Feelings and Distressing Symptoms disappearing with a rapidity that is really marvellous.

Directions for Self-Treatment of the above diseases with each Bottle


HEALTH, STRENGTH & ENERGY.

Its energizing effects are shown from the first day of its administration by a Remarkable Increase of Nerve and Intellectual Power, with a feeling of Courage, Strength, and Comfort Digestion is Invigorated. The Appetite increases wonderfully. Sleep becomes calm and refreshing. The Face becomes fuller, the Lips red, the Eyes brighter, and Skin clear and healthy.

Beware of vile imitations!—None genuine without the British Government Stamp with "Dr. Lalor's Phosphodyne, London, England," engraved thereon, by order of her Majesty's Honourable Commissioners.

Thousands of unimpeachable testimonials from all parts of the World, and from the highest Medical [illegible] other [illegible] Phosphoric Preparation has received such distinguished recognition.

Sold in Bottles at 4s. 6s. and 11s. each, by all Chemists throughout the World.

MANUFACTURED ONLY AT DR. LALOR'S PHOSPHODYNE LABORATORY.
HAMPSTEAD LONDON. ENGLAND.

TRY IT IN YOUR BATH.

SCRUBB'S CLOUDY FLUID AMMONIA

MARVELLOUS PREPARATION.

Refreshing as a Turkish Bath.
Invaluable for all Toilet Purposes.
Splendid Cleansing Preparation for the Hair.
Removes Stains and Grease Spots from Clothing, Etc.
Restores the Colour to Carpets.
Allays the Irritation caused by Mosquito Bites.
Invigorating in Hot Climates.
Cleans Plate and Jewellery.

For Sale by all Grocers and Chemists.

SCRUBB & CO., LTD., GUILDFORD ST., LONDON, S.E.

27-7 1904

SIMLA **COOKE & KELVEY.** LAHORE

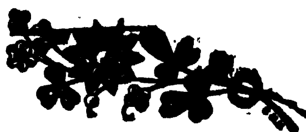
CALCUTTA.

—(0)—

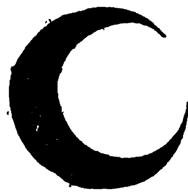
MANUFACTURING JEWELLERS, DIAMOND AND PEARL MERCHANTS TO
H. E THE VICEROY & GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.



B 229
DIAMOND STARS
from Rs 250/ 5000/



B 98.
A Grand Selection of DIAMOND
Flower and Spray Brooches, Rs. 180/- to 1000/-



B 495.
DIAMOND CRESCENTS
Rs. 350/- 400/- to 1500/-



B. 81.
Gold Pearl-set Expanding Bracelets,
Rs. 120/- 150/- 200/-



B. 462.
Gold Chased Seals.
Rs. 25/- 35/- 45/- 75/-



B. 55.
Gold Expanding
in many designs Rs. 85/- to 125/-.

A Grand Selection of Diamond Pearl and Enamel Brooches always kept in stock.	REGISTERED TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS, DIAMOND, CALCUTTA.	Inspection of our Show Rooms invited. Catalogues free on application.

12-10-1904

NESTLÉ'S SWISS MILK

(RICHEST IN CREAM)

Keeps better than any other Brand

NESTLE'S

MILK FOOD,

(INVALUABLE IN HOT CLIMATES)

A complete diet for INFANTS and INVALIDS.

A metal cover given Free with each tin of Milk.
Ask for Nestlé's Swiss Milk and take no other.
Nestlé's Milk Food is the Safest Diet for infants.
Requires No addition of Fresh Cow's Milk.
Recommended by leading European and Native Doctors.
Wholesale from all Importers and Colootollah Shops.
Retail from all leading Oilmen's Stores, Municipal Market,
Dhurrumtollah and Park Street Shops.

HENRI NESTLE AGENCY.

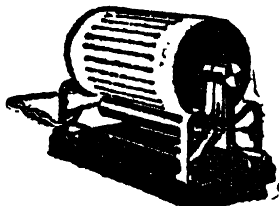
General Representatives for Bengal, Assam, United Provinces and Central Provinces,

MEYER, SOETBEER & CO.,

CALCUTTA,—4, POLLOCK STREET.

3-12-1904

3-12 1904



DO YOU WANT
20 or 1,000 Copies of Any Description; if so,
ELLAM'S DUPLICATOR

will make them in Hand or Type-writing QUICKER, BETTER and CHEAPER than any other method. In Handwriting the original is written by a Plain Steel Stylo like a lead pencil, (not a wheel), the paper being placed on a steel plate quite smooth although finely cut in all directions. This original is placed on the Duplicator and EVERY ROLL MAKES A PERFECT COPY or, if you want Typewritten copies you make the original in a Typewriter JUST AS AN ORDINARY LETTER is written and the copies are then struck off as for Handwriting

Copies can be made in, Black, Blue, Purple, Green or Red. No special instructions are required a CHILD CAN OPERATE IT and there is no waiting, washing, cleaning or other awkward operation to perform.

You Cannot Do Without One.

Write to us for prices, specimens of work and full particulars.

TRAILL & CO., Sole Wholesale Agents. **CALCUTTA.**

IN HOT CLIMATES

where a good antiseptic soap is often more a necessity than a luxury,

CALVERT'S

20 per cent

Carbolic Soap

has a ready sale, on account of its refreshing qualities, and the protection its use gives against mosquito bites. It contains 20% Crystal Carbolic, and is useful for insect bites or stings, ringworm, itch, &c.

Calvert's Disinfecting Powder

is guaranteed to contain 15% Carbolic and so is cheap to use as it need only be lightly sprinkled to destroy noxious and unpleasant odours and prevent the approach of infection. ½ lb., 1 lb. and 2 lb. tins.

F. C. CALVERT & Co., Manchester, Eng.

7-12-1904

27-9-1905

The Bengal Times.

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY.

DACCA, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3. 1900. No. 2014



ADVERTISEMENTS.

A. H. [illegible] & CO.

(CAWNPORE.)

[illegible]

THEATRE ROYAL.

[illegible]

"POOR PILLICODDY."

and a [illegible] in [illegible] Acts, entitled

"MORE PRECIOUS THAN GOLD"

will be produced.

[illegible]

PRICES OF ADMISSION

[illegible]

Applications for seats are to be registered at the [illegible] Office, between 8 a. m. and 5 p. m.

THE BENGAL TIMES.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1884.

[illegible]

[illegible]

(Continued from 2nd column.)

[illegible] I trust that any of you, gentlemen, [illegible]

[illegible] now only express the hope that, united, we may make the Exhibition of 1886 one of the grandest that has ever been held in England."

(Continued from our own)

[illegible] Mr. [illegible], resuming —"We have [illegible] to perceive that, we are [illegible] of purpose, and will not budge an inch from our position, to compel its acquiescence with [illegible] just and lawful wishes. It cannot deny our demand, because what we claim is our own, and we have only to show that, we are [illegible] to maintain our rights, and that we will not [illegible] them, to force from Government an acknowledgment of the strength of our position. One of the strangest anomalies of the many that meet us in this obnoxious Bill, is that, while Government is bent upon a [illegible] which is clearly unlawful, the opposition that has been so bitterly stigmatised as disloyal, has neither by word nor act, asked Government to do more than refrain from invalidating rights by constitutional law created and confirmed. It has striven to convince us by various so-called arguments that, the time has come for the change it contemplates making, without being in a position to point out any occasion for such change, while the frivolous pleas of convenience and political expediency it ventured to advance, were [illegible] to the four winds of Heaven, almost as soon as introduced, by men of known ability and large experience. One plea remains, that of equality, and as to this, I have a few observations to make. [illegible] admit, that in the sight of God and before the law, all men are equal. [illegible]

[illegible] What can we understand by the statement that, [illegible] Native [illegible] District Magistrate, or a Native District Judge can exercise criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects? If this be so, what have we been fighting for all this long while? Is not this conceding to Government as [illegible] to the miserable vaunt of a principle of justice, pro-libertines pretend lies [illegible] at the root of this Bill? Is it not the acknowledgment that, in contending we should submit to be tried by nobody but our peers, we mistook our own intentions, and [illegible] our own rights? If we accept this do we not admit we have all along been battling for a shadow? To say that a majority of our countrymen as a jury will in reality try us, is the [illegible] of all possible devices. We have hitherto maintained that extended criminal jurisdiction to Natives which can empower them to try European British subjects will never be tolerated, while there is a European in the country, and when Government by throwing a sop to us by way of a jury—which we never sought—maintains that Natives shall exercise this extended jurisdiction, those supposed to represent our best interests, exclaim gleefully that, the arrangement is eminently satisfactory. (Applause.) I am unable to coincide in this view. To my mind such an [illegible] is the most fatal, the most irreconcilable with our wishes. It would seem that the [illegible] ground. [illegible], the presiding [illegible] or Judge may be a [illegible] a certain amount of protection, the principle [illegible]

[illegible] to about 100,000 maunds.

[illegible]

[illegible] a happy new year to the beginning [illegible] at its [illegible]

INDIGO. Owing to the intervention of the usual Christmas Holidays, only two public sales have been held since our last issue, say Messrs. William Moran & Co., in their Market Report of the 31st ult. Catalogues comprised 2 150 chests, of which 2 [illegible] chests found buyers. Demand for good and fine Indigo has continued to be somewhat slack, but the market for these and for good consuming qualities closes rather firmer. There is little change to notice in the value of ordinary and middling kinds, but prices are slightly in favor of Buyers.

EXPORTS OF INDIGO. From 18th October, [illegible], to 31st ultimo:—

	Chests.	Mds.	S.
To Great Britain ...	9 755	25,[illegible]	0
„ France ...	2 340	[illegible]	0
„ Trieste ...	2 078	14,[illegible]	0
„ Foreign Europe ...	180	730	0
„ America ...	4,100	15,[illegible]	0
„ Gulph and Levant ...	330	[illegible]	20
	19,[illegible]	70 [illegible]	20

A LUCKY COOLIE. From a letter written by the Immigration Agent General to the Government of British Guiana, reporting the sailing of the ship Jumna from Demerara with return coolies for India, we cut the following:—" One of the emigrants, named Motee, who arrived in this colony some thirty-eight years ago, is a wealthy man, said to be worth over £[illegible]. He takes with him, however, only £[illegible] and a carpet bag full of gold and silver ornaments, valued at £170. He intends returning to British Guiana. Not satisfied with the [illegible] comforts so liberally provided for the use of ordinary Immigrant passengers, Motee caused a stock of wines, preserves, and other [illegible] to be placed on board for his special delectation, which will be [illegible] to the Surgeon in [illegible]. Indeed he went in for such a period of festivities, in which champagne formed the prevailing element, whilst bidding adieu to his numerous friends, that he got completely drunk, and nearly missed his passage, whilst his [illegible] better half and family [illegible] their [illegible] the end of the jetty. Motee's [illegible] stores included a case of gin, two of brandy, half a dozen of port wine, and several dozens of stout, ale, and [illegible], and a bottle of Eno's Fruit Salt." Not so bad, if we consider that, for thirty-eight long and weary years, Mr. Motee was subject to the brutal planter, starved, refused pay [illegible], falsely imprisoned, tortured, and by way of variation murdered on occasion—that is not quite, but almost. What do our Native friends say to all this? Is Mr. Motee a myth?

[illegible]. [illegible] the Home Committee of the [illegible] has dismissed the Rev. Mr [illegible] of [illegible], giving him six months' pay, and [illegible] Mr [illegible], his [illegible], who [illegible] Miss [illegible] having been guilty of acts we can hardly attribute to the most degraded, depraved, and abandoned of her sex; nay, such as, under the circumstances, one might [illegible] regard as almost outside the bounds of possibility. Whatever may be the career of Mr [illegible] hereafter, of one fact everybody may be assured, that his dismissal as the [illegible]

And I trust that any of you, gentlemen, who [illegible]

[illegible] as represented by Sir Robert Her[illegible] here to co-operate in this great work, not also take back the knowledge that this is not a new idea of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, but that the Prince of Wales has had this in his mind since 1876, and that he is determined that this shall be accomplished, and further, we in this country, and you, gentlemen, are also determined that this shall be accomplished. Before a very few months are passed, I hope that you will find documents arriving, following one after another, not to be thrown aside in the waste-paper basket, but to be acted upon with the knowledge of a firm intention to found a great institution. With regard to the products of our Colonies, I should like in the first place to see all the framework of the glass cases and the furniture made with the various woods of the Colonies. How much could be done, in the way of decoration, in this country, if we only made use of those woods which we have in our own empire! Then, there are marbles and stones which we practically know nothing about, and which could be used for pedestals, and various other products, which would help to make the great Exhibition both attractive and instructive. May it please God that I may have some little life left in me to assist in this great work. I am sure that the Colonial Office represented here by Sir Robert Herbert, will do its utmost in the matter, and I trust you, gentlemen, will not forget us when you go back to your respective countries. Let us make the year 1886 a red letter year in the history of this great empire, and show our sons and daughters that spirit of love, of which we are all proud, and that the spirit of this empire comes from the great colonies which are helping us from all parts of the world to that sense of friendship, [illegible] and security which we enjoy." (cheers) —"Sir [illegible] Rawson." There is only one other toast that I venture to propose, after that most eloquent speech to which we have just listened and which has filled and warmed our hearts; and that is the toast of our host, Mr Adderley (Cheers) We should not have had such an interesting and such an animated speech as Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen's and one which I hope will remain upon our memories, had it not have been for his hospitable kindness. I may claim a right to propose his health, because I have probably known him longer than any gentleman at the table. As an ex-Governor of the Bahamas, I became acquainted with my friend Mr. Adderley twenty-four years ago. I then became acquainted with his family also, and knew what they had done in past years for the Bahamas, the position they then occupied, and learned their value as the leading merchants of that colony and those who have most contributed to its welfare. My friend here was in the Assembly, and I had the pleasure of recommending him for a seat in the Council I have

law, all men are equal. Doubtless, there are very few among us here to-day, in a hurry to test the first problem by a practical solution, and as to the second, we can but judge by facts. And as our opponents have appealed to Cæsar, by Cæsar let them be judged. Turning to Section 640 of the Code of Civil Procedure, I find that women whose custom it is, not to appear in public by compulsion of social demands, "shall be exempt from personal appearance in Court" though they are subject to "arrest in execution of civil process." Note the wording of this section—"*shall be exempt*, not may, but *shall*; there is no option, it is not permissive but imperative, it is not optional, but an absolutely acknowledged privilege, secured by legislative enactment. It is useless to contend that some such women do attend court in a palanquin, to give evidence. You know very well, Gentlemen, that very often, half the value of evidence lies in expressiveness and impressiveness of demeanour; and how can you judge of one's demeanour who is buried within the recess of a palanquin or dooly car, how is it possible to identify such a witness? But some one may retort, surely her husband can be summoned to identify her. Not so. Turning to section 641 of the same code, I find that, if he belong to a certain rank, he also can claim exemption from attendance at Court. Now, neither our wives, nor sisters, nor daughters can claim this privilege, although we are the masters of India. Any litigiously disposed, revengeful menial, may drag our wife or a female relative into court upon the most frivolous pretext, but nobody can do as much with a Native lady, or a male Native of rank, though her or his evidence may be vitally essential. For want of it, our cause may be lost. We shall pay our money and look pleasant, all the more so, perhaps, when we reflect that, in the eye of the law all men stand upon so perfect an equality. (laughter) But, Gentlemen, this is only one of numberless instances I can adduce of the perfection of a system of equalizing men and things, it was destined by Providence for Lord Ripon to improve and amplify, (laughter) I have been careful in directing your attention to this theory of equality, because it accentuates, ironically, the present attitude of Government, which professes to cancel all distinction between Native and European Magistrates and Judges, while it widens the gap between non-officials of both races. Englishmen are given a jury—what they never asked for, Natives are not—another cause of friction and [illegible]. Our worthy Chairman has just told us that, trial by jury has no finality, and so far as a Sessions Court, other than a High Court, is concerned, he is perfectly correct. It is just this want of finality that may make all the difference between [illegible]

[illegible] it is to this principle [illegible] I take exception. In point of fact, we have conceded a principle we have all along declared we would uphold with our lives." After some further remarks, the speaker resumed his chair, amidst continued applause. Mr. Wilson then called upon Baboo [illegible] Coomar Bose for any remarks he might desire to make, who, in effect observed:— Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, though no orator I feel it my duty to respond to our Chairman's invitation. The Ilbert Bill is a measure un[illegible] sought by Natives, but we know how distasteful it is to Europeans, who see in it, a deprivation to them of a jealously-guarded right. Were our rights assailed, [illegible] it is only fair to admit that, we should [illegible] their [illegible] with as much vehemence as Europeans have manifested in protesting their [illegible] the unfortunate results to which the Bill if passed, is likely [illegible] and the good [illegible] of maintaining friendly relations between the two races, I am of opinion that Government would be better able to promote kindly feeling between Natives and Europeans, were the measure withdrawn. It can do us no good, and our European friends [illegible]. Why, then should we seek to force upon them a deprivation we should resent in our own case? (Applause) Far better for all concerned, that this bone of contention be removed, and Europeans and Natives resume their good understanding. [illegible] am opposed to every form of administration that aims at depriving any one of his rights and consequently, upon principle, I do not favour, as I cannot approve, Mr. Ilbert's Bill. I do not believe that any Native really in his heart approves of it. Many of my countrymen, intelligent and thinking men, believe as I do." (Applause.) The Chairman then read out the following resolution:—"While we consider that, any compromise as now proposed by Government touching the Ilbert Bill, is undesirable, being an infringement of our rights, we would, for the present place ourselves in the hands of the Council of the Defence Association, Calcutta in respect to our attitude of opposition, pending further information as to the terms of acceptance proposed." Mr. Finlayson having proposed and Mr Kemp seconded it, the resolution was unanimously carried. Three cheers were then given for the Defence Association at Home and that in Calcutta, for Mr. Atkins; for those members of Council who opposed the Bill; for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; for Mr Keswick, the uncrowned King; for the press, and in especial the *Englishman* and *Bengal Times*. [A voice—Gentlemen—let us give to each one his due—three groans for Lord Ripon.] These were given. *God Save the Queen* followed, when all adjourned to a sumptuous and liberally provided lunch, to which ample justice was done.

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